Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal: Manange and Sherpa

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Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal: Manange and Sherpa

edited by Carol Genetti

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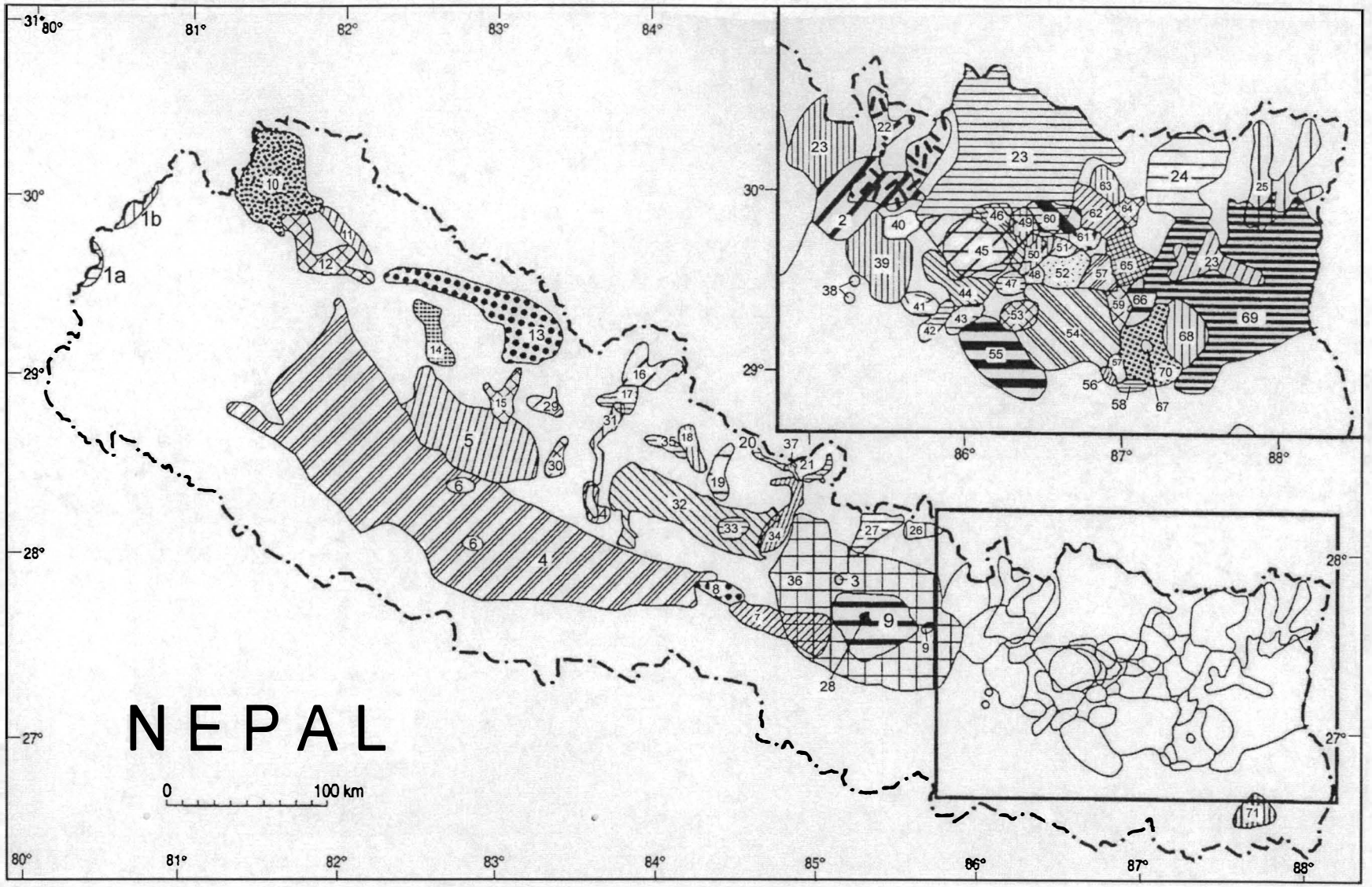

Map 1: Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal (Bradley 1997, p. 67).

W. HIMALAYISH
1a. Chaudangsi
1b. Byangsi
2. Thami
3. Bhramu

C. HIMALAYISH
4. Magar
5. Kham
6. Raute/Raji
7. Chepang
8. Gharti/Bujheli
9. Newari

TIBETAN
10. Humli Tamang
11. Khan
12. Karmarong
13. Dolpo
14. Rengpungmo
15. Tichurong
16. Lo
17. Kag
18. Nar
19. Gyasumdo
20. Nubri
21. Tsum
22. Jirel
23. Sherpa
24. Lhomi
25. Halung
26. Langtang
27. Kachad
28. Tibetan refugees

W. BODISH
29. Kaike
30. Chantyal
31. Thakali
32. Gurung
33. Dura
34. Ghale
35. Manange
36. Tamang
37. Kutang Ghale

KIRANTI
38 Hayu
39. Sunuwar
40. Surel
41. Jerung
42. Chaurasia
43. Tilung
44. Bahing
45. Thulung
46. Khaling
47. Dumi
48. Kohi
49. Sotang
50. Nachering
51. Chukwa
52. Sangpang
53. Puma
54. Bantawa
55. Chamling
56. Chintang
57. Lohorong
58. Chulung
59. Dungmali Khesang
60. Kulung
61. Parali
62. Mewahang
63. Yamphe
64. Yamphu
65. Yakkha
66. Lumba
67. Belhare
68. Chatthare Limbu
69. Limbu
70. Athpare

DHIMAL
71. Dhimal

Preface

The Kingdom of Nepal is a land-locked country, positioned between China and the Tibetan plateau to the north and India to the south. The country may be divided geographically into three primary regions: in the north, the Himalayas, the world's highest mountain range; in the center, many ranges of very steep hills; in the south, the Tarai, which is part of the Gangetic plain, and has a very low elevation approaching sea-level. The distance between the northern and southern borders varies, but is often no more than one hundred kilometers as the bird flies. The distance is much greater on the ground, due to the countless rugged hills which increasingly rise in elevation as one approaches the mountains. These hills are divided by deep valleys and gorges, making travel between points long and arduous. This geography has given rise to a diverse array of ethnic groups and remarkable linguistic diversity.

It is difficult to state with any certainty the number of languages which are spoken in Nepal. Toba (1991) lists seventy distinct languages overall. *Ethnologue* (Grimes 1992) lists one-hundred. Bradley (1997) lists seventy-two languages just in the Tibeto-Burman family. There are several reasons for this disparity. First, our knowledge of the languages of Nepal is not complete, and languages previously unknown to the world at large are still being 'discovered' by linguists. A recent example is the discovery in 1999 of a Bodish (Tibetan) language, spoken in Tokpe Gola, a village not found on even detailed maps of Nepal (Caplow 2001), and whose language had not been reported in the literature.

A second factor inhibiting our ability to count the number of languages is the age-old problem of classifying language varieties as 'languages' as opposed to 'dialects'. In most Nepalese languages, there is only one word used for both language and dialect, and the common practice is to name language varieties by either the ethnic group which speaks a language, or the place where it is spoken. Since there is actually a continuum between language and dialect, the Nepalese approach is quite functional and wisely avoids the issue. However, since a distinction is made between language and dialect in other parts of the world, linguists are naturally interested in applying this distinction to Nepal. This is not as simple as it would appear, as speakers' conceptions of their linguistic affiliations are closely tied to their conceptions of their ethnic identities. For example, consider the case of Newar, the old state language of the Kathmandu Valley. There are three primary Newar dialects spoken in the Valley (Kathmandu, Bhaktapur, and Patan), as well as handful of other varieties spoken in villages throughout Nepal. Of these 'dialects', at least one is fully mutually unintelligible with the dialects of the Kathmandu Valley. This variety is spoken in Dolakha, and speakers from Dolakha report that it takes them one to two years of residence in Kathmandu before they can understand Kathmandu Newar. Similarly, when Newars from Kathmandu travel to Dolakha on pilgrimage, they find they are unable to understand the Dolakha dialect and must resort to Nepali to communicate. Nevertheless, the people of Dolakha are ethnically Newar; this can be seen from their names, their caste

system, and many other customs. They thus consider their language to be Newar, and it is referred to as a dialect. In contrast to this situation, are the Tamangic 'languages'. Speakers of these languages are in distinct ethnic groups, and when they come together to interact, they can generally communicate, if with some difficulty (Michael Noonan, pers.comm). The same is true of some of the Indo-Aryan 'languages' spoken in the Tarai (C. M. Bandhu, pers.comm). Thus certain language varieties have come to be known as 'languages' and others as 'dialects', without their being any objective criterion applied as to the classification. In general, the approach has been to let the speakers themselves make these decisions. One can confidently say, however, that if we counted all the language varieties in the country, regardless of status as language or dialect, the count would run into the hundreds.

A third problem in counting the number of languages in Nepal has to do with ethnic and linguistic classification, and how speakers self-classify and are classified by others. For example, in the 1991 census, there is one category called 'Rai/Kirant'. Although many Nepalese consider all people called Rai to be in the same ethnic group, there are actually dozens of clearly distinct Rai languages (Hansson (1991) lists 41). The census states that there are 439,000 Rai speakers, but there is no indication as to how these numbers break down further. In addition, some speakers may misreport their ethnic identity, in order to identify with a group with more social and economic prestige (Kelly this volume). Both of these problems also contribute to difficulties in obtaining statistics on how many people speak particular languages, and in most cases linguists can only estimate, based on their own observations and those of members of the speech community.

Nepal is situated at the geographic convergence of two great language families: Indo-European and Tibeto-Burman (T-B). The overwhelming majority of Nepalese languages are genetically classified in one of these two stocks. Two other language families, Dravidian and Austroasiatic, are also represented, but only by one language each. The Indo-European languages spoken in Nepal are all classified in the Indo-Aryan branch of the family (with the exception of English and other non-indigenous western European languages). The classification of the Tibeto-Burman languages is more controversial and there are a number of competing theories as to the sub-branching of the family (see Shafer 1966–1974, Benedict 1972, Hale 1982, DeLancey 1987, Matisoff 1991, 2000, Bradley 1994, 1997, van Driem 1997, 2001). Bradley (1997) presents one classification. Map 1, taken from Bradley (1997:67) and used here with his permission (pages vi-vii), shows the geographic distribution of the Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal, along with their names and their genetic affiliations according to his classification.

Note in this diagram that the Tibeto-Burman languages are primarily spoken in the northern regions of the country. The only T-B language spoken in the Tarai is Dhimal, listed as number 72 on the map (pages vi-vii), and located in the lower right-hand corner. The Indo-Aryan languages, by contrast, are primarily spoken in the Tarai and in the central hill regions of Nepal. Thus while the very northern and the very southern regions of the country are predominantly Tibeto-Burman and Indo-Aryan respectively, the middle, hilly region represents an area where languages of both families have been in contact for centuries.

Nepal is also situated at the convergence of two distinct linguistic areas, labeled by Matisoff as the Indosphere and the Sinosphere. Linguistic areas are contiguous geographic regions which contain languages of different genetic stocks, and where those languages share typological features as a result of diffusion. The Indosphere essentially constitutes

the South Asian subcontinent, where languages are spoken from the Indo-Aryan, Tibeto-Burman, Austroasiatic, and Dravidian families. Despite their different genetic histories, languages in this area tend to share particular features, such as the presence of retroflex consonants, dative-subject constructions, particular word-order patterns, and conjunctive participles (Masica 1976). The Sinosphere, which contains languages of the Sino-Tibetan, Mon-Khmer, Hmong-Mien, Tai-Kadai and Austronesian families, geographically covers much of Southeast Asia. Languages in this area are prototypically characterised by little or no inflectional morphology, words which are monosyllabic or sequisyllabic, multiple tones, and serial verb constructions. Languages of the Himalayas, located in part between these two regions and serving as an effective geographic barrier for all but the hardiest traders, often show typological characteristics of both linguistic areas. Some languages (such as Manange) are predominantly of the Sinospheric type, while others (such as Nepali and Newar) primarily have characteristics of the Indospheric type. There has, as yet, been no rigorous study of the distribution of the features characteristic of the distinct linguistic areas in Nepalese languages, and little work has been done on patterns of population contact and multilingualism (an exception to the latter is Kansakar 1996). Each language in Nepal has been formed in a unique sociohistorical context; each needs to be independently assessed to determine the extent to which language contact has played a role in shaping its lexical, phonological and grammatical patterns.

Linguists estimate that only about half of the languages spoken in the world in the year 2000 will still be spoken by the year 2100 (Krauss 1992:6). Unfortunately, the languages of Nepal are sure to be part of this global trend. While there are about one-hundred languages in Nepal, only about one-quarter of these languages are spoken by more than 5000 people (based on population numbers in Bradley 1997:52–60). Many of these small communities have begun to lose their coherence, as members from the villages move into cities or other parts of Nepal to find employment. As the coherence is lost, the speech community is scattered and the language is devalued. In this situation, children do not have the motivation to learn and use the language, which soon becomes the exclusive property of older speakers, a situation which usually leads to extinction. To the extent that the caste system permits it, there is a trend for migrants to the city to marry people from outside the village, hence often from outside the native speech community. This helps insure a non-village lifestyle for the couple, but also further promotes the use of Nepali between spouses, and thus the raising of children in a monolingual Nepali setting. Older people tend to follow their children to the cities once they have established homes there, with the result that villages are losing population rapidly. For example, of the 800 or so members of the Nar-Phu ethnic group, no more than 500 live most of the year in the Nar region (Michael Noonan, pers.comm). If this trend continues, then within a couple of decades there may not be enough people left in the Nar region to sustain the traditional way of life. This situation is not unique to the Nar-Phu, and similar, though perhaps less extreme, figures could be cited for many other ethnic groups.

While this scenario affecting small speech communities is all too common in Nepal, languages with larger speech communities are also not immune from the possibility of extinction. Consider the case of Newar. This language was listed as having about 690,000 speakers in the 1991 census. Most Newars fluently speak Nepali, an Indo-Aryan language and the national language of Nepal; many of them speak Newar as well. But as the country continues to modernise, the pressure of social and economic change renders fluency in Nepali an even more important tool for economic success. Nepali is used for most inter-

ethnic communication, and is also the language of education and of commerce. Many Newar parents feel that their children will acquire a better command of Nepali if they are not simultaneously taught the other languages of the household. These children are thus addressed in Nepali, which becomes their first language. Often, when children are raised in fully Newar communities, the richness of the linguistic environment still provides enough input for children to pick up their parents' languages as they grow older, but often they do not reach the same degree of proficiency as their parents, and they use the language only in limited social settings, and not with their peers. When they do speak Newar, they rely very heavily on Nepali lexical items, and produce calques based on Nepali and English phrases and grammatical expressions.

It is within this context that the present volume has been produced. The prospect of language endangerment and extinction creates a great need for documentation of undescribed languages, and for more thorough studies of languages for which we have only limited documentary materials. With this need in mind, I applied for and received a research grant from the United States National Science Foundation (BNS 9729005) to train two linguistics graduate students and to send them to Nepal to conduct primary linguistic fieldwork on undocumented or under-documented Tibeto-Burman languages. The two grammars which have been completed under the auspices of that project are presented in this volume. The first, by Kristine Hildebrandt, is on Manange, a Tamangic language spoken in the Annapurna region. The second, by Barbara Kelly, is on Sherpa, a Bodish language spoken in the Solu and Khumbu regions. Both students gathered their data in two field trips to Nepal, in 1988 and 1999; Kristine Hildebrandt made a third trip in 2001, and Barbara Kelly has continued her work with Sherpa speakers living in the United States.

We have many people to thank for their assistance with this project. Both authors give their own independent set of acknowledgements, but here I would like to especially thank those people who were centrally involved in this project. First and foremost is Professor Michael Noonan from the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, the original catalyst for this venture. Professor Noonan provided extensive input into the planning process, introduced the students to Nepal, and undertook all the initial arrangements on the ground. We gratefully acknowledge his fundamental contributions. In addition, we would like to thank the faculty and students of the Department of Linguistics at Tribhuvan University in Nepal, who provided assistance, wisdom, encouragement and advice. Also we are grateful to Dr. Austin Hale, who met with the students regularly to discuss data during their first fieldtrip. Finally, we are indebted to Mr. Hlaakpa and Mrs. Sita Gurung, two highly resourceful individuals who assisted with all manner of logistical detail.

The writing of a grammar is a difficult task, and one never can attain the ideal of a complete and entirely error-free work. We apologise for our many imperfections. Nevertheless, we hope these contributions will prove useful to linguists, anthropologists, and other scholars. Our greater hope is that they will one day also prove useful to the Manange and Sherpa peoples and to their descendents.

Carol Genetti
July 2002
Santa Barbara, CA, USA

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A grammar and glossary of the Manange language

Kristine A. Hildebrandt

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Abbreviations

**	unknown element
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ABL	ablative
ASSOC	associative
CC	clause chainer
CLASS	classifier
COMIT	comitative
CONJ	conjunctive morpheme
COP	copula
DAT	dative
DEF	definite marker
DIST	distal demonstrative
DM	discourse marker
EMPH	emphatic particle
ERG	ergative
EVID	evidential
EXCL	exclusive
GEN	genitive
IMP/IMPER	imperative
INDEF	indefinite marker
LOC	locative
NEG	negative
NOM	nominalizer
PL	plural
PROG	progressive
PROX	proximal demonstrative
PST	past
REP	reported speech
SG	singular

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1 *Introduction*

1.1 Goals

The primary goal of this work[1] is to provide an introductory linguistic description of Manange, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in the Manang District of central northern Nepal. The Manange language has not been extensively documented and the material that is available on this language is incomplete and inconvenient to access. The expected contribution of this sketch grammar includes a presentation and description of phonetic, phonological and morphosyntactic phenomena as they have been observed in both elicited and text-based settings. In addition, because the data presented in this grammar represent work with different Manange speakers, observations of linguistic variation among them are noted and discussed.

A secondary goal of this work is to provide preliminary explanations for any features of Manange that may be addressed by contemporary linguistic theory. Where applicable, generalisations about patternings of linguistic phenomena are posited.

1.2 Background on Manange

1.2.1 Geographical location and population

Manange (lit. [mánaŋ] 'Manang people/place' [kjè] 'voice/language') is a Tibeto-Burman language located in the Western Development Region's northern district of Nepal,

[1] Work for this grammar was supported by a National Science Foundation Grant BNS 9729005. I wish to thank a number of individuals for their assistance and advice in the construction of this grammar. First and foremost my thanks go to certain Manange speakers with whom I worked most closely, including Eden Gurung and her parents Mr Palten and Mrs Chooma Gurung, as well as Gyaalpo Gurung, Ongma Gurung, Kamishya Gurung (Aaru), and Romi Gurung. I wish also to thank my advisor Carol Genetti, whose guidance, training and direction were essential to the completion of this work. Additionally, I wish to thank several of my instructors and colleagues, including Matt Gordon, Sandra Thompson, Marianne Mithun, Michael Noonan, Robert Englebretson, Paul Barthmaier, and Kathy Sands, for their valuable, practical input and encouragement. Warm thanks also go to the researchers who assisted me in interpreting and analyzing my data while in I was in Nepal: Barbara Kelly, Holly Smith, Mary Brehm, Karen Grunow-Haarsta, Steve Watters, Balthasar Bickel, and Austin Hale, and the faculty at both Tribhuvan University and The Royal Nepal Academy. Thanks also go to Hlaakpa and Sita Gurung, who served as my trekking guides to the Manang District, and who introduced me to many of the Manange people. A note of gratitude also goes to Clint Rogers from UC Berkeley, who provided me with some useful references on the Manange language and its speakers. Finally, I wish to thank the many members of the Manange community themselves who graciously hosted and assisted me as I worked to learn about their beautiful language. Any errors in this work are my own.

called Manang.[2]. Older Manange speakers describe the etymology of their placename *manaŋ* as *ma*, presumably a version of *3mi* 'person' which has undergone a type of vowel harmony, and *3naŋ* 'down/below', with a compounded meaning of 'the ones down there.' They say this name was given to inhabitants of the lower Manang township by Manange-speaking villagers of upper Tengki Manang, located about one-half mile and three hundred feet above Manang township. Manang township/village is the largest village in the Manang District. Another Manange speaker has told me that the *ma* form in Manange is not in fact a version of *3mi* 'person' but a mutated version of *mu*, an older word for 'village.' The only word that I have ever been given in elicitation for 'village' is *3jul*. If this were the case, the etymology of the placename would then be 'the voice of the village/villagers below.'

Geographically, Manang is known as the Inner Himalayan Valley, as it is surrounded to the south, the east and the west by the Nepal Annapurna mountain range. About twenty miles to the north of Manang village lies the Tibetan border, with the Tibetan plateau extending beyond to the north-west. Manang is the second largest district in the Gandaki zone, but it is the least populated district in Nepal. This district, which contains twelve village development committees (Tal, the district headquarters of Chhame, Pisang, Praka, Ongde/Humde, Manang, Tengki, Gyaru, Ngawal, Gunsang, Nar, Phugaun), and several smaller village communities (including Bagarchhap, Dharapani, Thonje, Thanchok, Letdar, Khangsar, Dhanakyu) covers 2,246 square kilometers in area (Sharma 1994). As many village names like Dharapani (Nepali *dhaaro* 'spring' *paani* 'water') and Bagarchhap (Nepali *bagar* 'sandy') indicate, several placenames within the Manang district are now wholly or partially identified with Indo-Aryan names. In most cases, younger Mananges do not remember the older, Tibeto-Burman names of such places, and assume that a name like Dharapani is the only placename that people use. Other Mananges describe town names such as Pisang as being partly Tibeto-Burman and partly Indo-Aryan in origin (e.g. some Mananges refer to Pisang as [pi] only, with the second syllable [sʌŋ] possibly being the Nepali word 'together, union') (see also Snellgrove 1961 for a discussion of Manang region placenames and the 1931 Survey of India project).

The 1991 official census reports a population growth of approximately 23% in Nepal as a whole between 1981 and 1991. In contrast, the Manang district has seen its population decrease by 23% over these same ten years. The 1991 census reports a population of 5,363 for the district (Gurung 1998).

Both Gurungs and Manangis (or *Mananges*, also called *Manangpas* and *Manangbhots*) are the main ethnic groups inhabiting the Manang district. An upshot of this is that linguistic census records tend to lump speakers of Manange in with speakers of other Gurungic languages such as Gurung, Tamang and Thakali. In addition, since Manange is spoken in the high hills or mountain areas of the Nepal-Tibet border, and since Mananges identify themselves culturally with speakers of other Bodish languages, other linguistic records tend to lump their language in with Sherpa or other Bhote languages. As a result, the exact number of Manange speakers is unknown. For the purposes of census

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[2] My orthographic transcription of the name of Manange language utilises the letter *g*, which is also the IPA symbol for a voiced velar stop. The phonemic inventory of Manange does not contain voiced stops; rather, voicing for obstruents is allophonic, occurring when the obstruent follows another voiced segment. My orthographic rendering of the name of this language is neither phonemically nor phonetically accurate, but rather reflects a Roman alphabet tradition of the spelling of this language and the ethnic group that speaks it.

construction, if Manange is considered to be a Bhote-Sherpa group language, then the 1991 mother-tongue numbers are around 17,000 for the western region of Nepal. If Manange is considered as a Gurung group language (and comparative data suggest it is Gurungic), then its western region numbers stand at about 149,000 (Gurung 1998). Either way, both of these numbers stand in stark contrast to most speakers' personal estimates of about 3,000 Manange speakers living in both the Manang district and in the Kathmandu Valley combined.

1.2.2 Language classification

Manange, also known by its endonym as *ŋyeshaŋ,* 'our language,' is a Bodish language identified within the Central Himalayish subphylum of Tibeto-Burman[3]. It is grouped with other Gurungic languages such as the Nar-Phu complex, Gurung, Thakali, Tamang, and Chantyal (Bradley 1997; Noonan 2003 a).

1.2.3 Available materials

Currently, one other grammatical description of Manange (Hoshi 1986b) exists. In addition, there are two dictionaries (Hoshi 1986a; Nagano 1984). Other materials include several synchronic and diachronic analyses of Gurungic (including Manange) tone (Mazaudon 1977, 1978, 1988, 1996).

Other geographical, religious and socio-cultural accounts of Manange life and the Manang area include works by Cooke 1985 a, b, c, Gurung 1976, Pohle 1986 & 1988, Snellgrove 1961, Spengen 1987, and Watkins 1993, 1996.

1.3 Origin of data

1.3.1 Language consultants

The data for this sketch grammar were collected during three separate field trips, the first trip undertaken in the summer and fall of 1998, the second trip in the summer of 1999, and the third trip in the spring of 2001.

The majority of lexical and clausal data for this sketch grammar come from four speakers. However, my analysis of Manange tone is based largely on word lists collected from older Mananges who live year-round in the Manang District. In addition, texts used for the basis of my analyses in this grammar come from three additional speakers of Manange (specifically, the text included in chapter 6 comes from the father of Eden Gurung). In most (but not all) cases, these additional speakers are relatives of Eden Gurung, the speaker with whom I had the most contact.

Eden Gurung provided me with most of the initial lexical and elicited grammatical data, and I often worked with her to transcribe texts recorded from older Mananges. At the time of my first visit to Nepal, she was approximately twenty years old, and had been born and raised in Kathmandu. Her mother and father, Mr Palten and Mrs Chooma Gurung, are from the Praka and Tengki Manang villages, respectively. Eden speaks Manange and Nepali with her family, and she speaks only Manange with her older relatives, including her great aunt (*ȁru*) Kamisha Gurung. Outside of the home, however, she has less regular

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[3] Interestingly, some Manange speakers consider *ŋyeshaŋ* to be an exonym, assigned to them by Tibetans.

contact with other Manange speakers. She typically speaks Nepali and English with her peers, who are themselves from various ethnic groups of Nepal (e.g. Rai, Newar, Chhetri, etc.). Eden received her secondary education in India, and therefore has a knowledge of Hindi. She has visited the Manang District three times in her life, the third time as my field research assistant in October 1998.

Another Manange speaker with whom I worked closely, Ongma Gurung, was in her mid twenties at the time of my second visit to Nepal. Despite her last name (a common last name for Mananges), she is not related to Eden. In contrast to Eden, Ongma has lived all of her life in the village of Tengki, located about 30 minutes walking time north of the main village of Manang. Also in contrast to Eden, Ongma speaks very little English (mostly just tourist-related vocabulary). While she does know and use Nepali, she appears to use the Manange language on a much more regular basis, and her instances of conversational Nepali often contain several Manange lexical and grammatical items. Ongma also speaks the Gurung language (dialect uncertain) and because of her regular participation in Buddhist practices, she is also familiar with ceremonial Tibetan words, songs and constructions (dialect uncertain).

A third Manange speaker with whom I worked is Gyalpo Gurung (again no relation to Eden or Ongma). At the time of my first visit to Nepal, Gyalpo was in his forties. Gyalpo grew up in the Manang village, but left for India to pursue an education. He later returned to Kathmandu and now lives there permanently, with frequent return visits to the Manang District. Gyalpo speaks Manange regularly and, as he has served as an elected representative of the Manang District, he also has fluent knowledge of Nepali and Gurung for political purposes.

While these three Mananges share many features of their language, they also appear to vary considerably in what they feel is acceptable use of this language. When a particular speaker appears to differ noticeably from the others in his/her use (or opinion) of an aspect of the language, I will note in my discussion from which speaker the data are taken.

1.4 Organisation of this grammar

As stated before, the primary goal of this work is a description of the Manange language. Chapter 2 focuses on the phonetics and phonology. Chapter 3 contains descriptions of and discussion on the morphology of the noun phrase. Chapter 4 is on the morphology of the verb phrase. Chapter 5 focuses on the morphosyntactic structure and semantics of clause combining in Manange. Chapters 6 and 7 contain a text (with morpheme gloss and loose translation) and a partial glossary of the language, respectively. While the bulk of each chapter is concerned primarily with description, smaller sections will be devoted to special issues that arise concerning particular phenomena in the language.

2 *Manange phonetics and phonology*

In this chapter I describe the articulatory phonetic properties of Manange consonants and vowels. Throughout this description, I argue for the phonemic status of many of these sounds. I use brackets ([ ]), when discussing articulatory and allophonic detail, and I use slashes (/ /) when discussing phonemic representation. In my discussion of Manange tone, I draw upon both articulatory and acoustic evidence for my generalisations. At the end of this chapter I provide a working orthography which I will use for the duration of this grammar.

2.1 Consonants

The Manange consonant phoneme inventory is given in Table 2.1:

Table 2.1: Manange consonant phoneme inventory

	labial	dental	alveolar	retroflex	palatal	velar	glottal
Obstruents							
Voiceless Stops							
plain							
unaspirated	pʰ	tʰ		ʈʰ		kʰ	
unaspirated	p	t		ʈ		k	ʔ
labialised							
aspirated	pʰʷ					kʰʷ	
unaspirated	pʷ					kʷ	
Voiceless Fricatives							
unaspirated			s	ʂ	ʃ		h

Table 2.1: *Continued*

	labial	dental	alveolar	retroflex	palatal	velar	glottal
aspirated			tsʰ		tʃʰ		
unaspirated			ts		tʃ		
Tap			ɾ				
Sonorants							
Nasals							
plain	m		n		ɲ	ŋ	
labialised	mʷ					ŋʷ	
Lateral Approximant			l				
Glide					j		

As Table 2.1 shows, Manange features consonants in seven places of articulation and seven manners of articulation. Stop consonants occur in five places of articulation. Example (2.1) gives a near-minimal set for four of the five places, excluding the glottal stop /ʔ/:

(2.1) [pî] 'say'[1]
[tʰí] 'fall and break'
[t̂ì] 'pull'
[kì] 'feces'

The glottal consonants /ʔ, h/ are limited in occurrence and distribution, and do not contrast with other sounds. However, they are currently treated as phonemes. For more discussion on the glottals see §2.2.7.

Affricates occur at two places of articulation. Minimal pairs for these places are given in example (2.2):

(2.2) [tsù] 'cook'
[tʃú] 'ten'

[1] Briefly, the tone system is as follows: tone /1/ is low and level in pitch, and includes all sonorant and obstruent onset types; tone /2/ is high and level in pitch, and includes all sonorant and obstruent onset types; tone /3/ is very high in pitch with a steep falling contour, and includes all sonorant types and unaspirated obstruents; tone /4/ is mid-low in pitch with a falling contour, and includes all sonorant types and aspirated obstruents. For disyllabics, the system is somewhat more complicated. Refer to §2.5 for a more comprehensive discussion of tone. In words which are phonetically transcribed, pitch will be indicated by phonetic symbols: [ˉ] mid-level pitch, [ˋ] low level, [ˊ] high level, [ˆ] falling, [ˇ] rising pitch. See §2.5 for a more comprehensive discussion of tone.

Fricatives are found at four places of articulation. Example (2.3) gives near-minimal triplets for three of the four places of articulation:

(2.3) [sè] 'kill'
[ʃè] 'awaken/get up'[2]
[ʂô] 'friend'

The glottal fricative /h/ is not represented in the above example as it is lexically infrequent, but there are a couple of instances of it occurring word-initially. For more discussion on /h/ see §2.2.7.

In example (2.4), the near-minimal set distinguishes the four places of articulation for nasals:

(2.4) [mjê] 'cow'
[nʌ̂] 'born'
[ɲè] 'decayed'
[ŋʌ̀] 1st person singular absolutive pronoun

In example (2.5) the minimal pair distinguishes the tap /ɾ/ from the lateral /l/:

(2.5) [lô] 'year'
[ɾô] 'corpse'

For more discussion on the allophonic variation of /ɾ/, see §2.2.3.

2.2 Phonetic description, phonemes and allophonic variation

2.2.1 Bilabials

At the labial place of articulation are aspirated and unaspirated voiceless bilabial stops /p, pʰ/. Also found is the bilabial nasal /m/. In addition, in this section I provide evidence for the presence of a labialised series of bilabial and velar consonants in Manange: /pʷ, pʰʷ, kʷ, kʰʷ, mʷ, ŋʷ/ rather than the presence of an individual labio-velar glide segment phoneme /w/.

Example (2.6) shows minimal pairs for the aspirated and unaspirated voiceless bilabial stops:

(2.6) [pè] 'wool'
[pʰé] 'iron'
[pò] 'change/exchange'
[pʰó] 'beat'

For some speakers, /pʰ/ is in free variation with the voiceless bilabial fricative [ɸ] when in word-initial position, as example (2.7) shows:

---

[2] For some speakers, [ʃ] is in free variation with [ʂ] when occuring word-initally.

(2.7) /2pʰo/ [pʰó] or [ɸ́o] 'beat'
/1pʰi/ [pʰì] or [ɸ̀i] '*chang*/wine/beer'

Although my consultants often use the voiceless bilabial fricative in word-initial position, they feel that the aspirated stop is also appropriate. This lenition process is limited to voiceless aspirated bilabial stops only; no evidence of lenition for other stops in Manange has yet been evidenced.

Turning next to the bilabial nasal /m/, example (2.8) illustrates a minimal pair contrasting /m/ with the alveolar nasal /n/:

(2.8) [mô] 'sky'
[nó] 'high'

The labio-velar segment [w] is found very infrequently in Manange. When it does occur, it follows either bilabial (/p, pʰ, m/) or velar segments (/k, kʰ, ŋ/). It has only been attested to in word-initial position once, in the following token:

(2.9) [jà#wàtu] ([jà] 'hand' [wàtu] 'clap') 'to clap hands'

This is the only occurrence that I have found of word-initial [w]. Because the morphology of this particular verb is different from the expected morphology (e.g. there is no *-pʌ* nominaliser present in the elicited form), and that all other instances of [w] follow either bilabial or velar onsets, I suspect that [w] is not present in Manange's phonemic inventory. This word may be a borrowing.

The labio-velar [w] does occur in Manange in the C2 (second onset) position following certain word-initial onsets, namely the bilabials and velars. Examples are shown below:

(2.10) [kʰwê] 'song'[3]
[mwí] 'fur'
[ŋwô] 'fry'

[w] is still infrequent in this position, and I have not found any words in which [w] occurs before the vowels [ʌ, u]. Since the distribution of [w] in Manange is irregular and limited (e.g. it does not occur word-initially, it only follows certain onsets, it does not occur before two of the vowels in the language), it does not seem plausible to think of it as having an independent phonemic status. Nor does it seem plausible to posit [w] as being an allophone of non-labialised biliabial and velar consonants. Rather, at this time, I posit a labialised series of consonants in Manange, namely /pʷ, pʰʷ, mʷ, kʷ, kʰʷ, ŋʷ/.

2.2.2 Dentals

The aspirated and unaspirated dental stops /t, tʰ/ are produced by my consultants with the tongue tip or blade touching the back of the upper front teeth.

Example (2.11) shows minimal pairs and near-minimal pairs for the aspirated and unaspirated voiceless dental stops, establishing their phonemic status:

---

[3] Some speakers pronounce 'song' as [kʰû.we], with a falling pitch carried across both syllables.

(2.11) [tà] 'what'
[tʰá] 'cut'
[tɪ̀] 'heart'
[tʰî] 'house'
[té] 'take out'
[tʰȅ] 'empty'
[tô] 'meet'
[tʰò] 'roof'

It should be mentioned here that in one lexical item in Manange, a word that also occurs in the lexicon of Tibetan, /4tuk/ 'poison', there is a slight pre-nasalisation of the dental stop, sounding like:

(2.12) [ⁿtûk] 'poison'[4]

This pre-nasalisation is not present when the word is uttered in a clause-medial frame context. Pre-nasalisation like this is extremely rare in Manange, although it has been described for some Tibetan dialects. If this form is borrowed (the Lhasa Tibetan form is *thuù* and the written Tibetan form is *dug*), it could be the source of the prenasalisation.

2.2.3 Alveolars

The alveolar affricates /ts, tsʰ/ are made by my consultants with the tongue tip or blade touching the alveolar ridge behind the upper front teeth.

In addition to the affricates, the voiceless unaspirated alveolar fricative /s/ is also present, as is the alveolar tap /ɾ/. Alveolar sonorants include the nasal /n/ and the lateral approximant /l/.

Example (2.13) shows minimal pairs for the voiceless unaspirated and aspirated alveolar affricates:

(2.13) [tsâŋ] 'bed'
[tsʰâŋ] 'put/keep'

The phoneme /s/ appears in word-initial and in word-medial onset environments, as example (2.14) shows:

(2.14) [sôl] 'clear'
[sʌ̀] 'ground'
[nè.sè] 'tomorrow'

[sʌ̀] 'ground' in example (2.14) also contrasts with [tsʌ̂] 'son' to establish the phonemic independence of [s] and [ts].

---

[4] The word for 'poison' /4tuk/ also shows peculiar tonal characteristics. It is perceptually and acoustically a tone /4/ word, starting at about 240 Hz and falling to about 210 Hz through time. However, all other tone /4/ words in Manange with obstruent onsets show aspiration and the onset obstruent [t] for 'poison' clearly is not aspirated, and is even prenasalised in some cases.

The phoneme /s/ has a voiced allophone [z], which occurs word medially when following a nasal segment, as example (2.15) shows:

(2.15) [àm.zʌŋ] 'mother's younger brother's wife'

This appears to be a simple case of word-medial voicing assimilation. Examples of word-initial and word-medial single onset /n/ are shown in (2.16):

(2.16) *Word-initial*
[nó.kɾ̃ẽ̃] 'bone'
[ná.ká] 'chicken'

Word-medial
[à.nà] 'older sister'
[kù.ǹi] 'curried meal'

/n/ is also found in word-internal coda position, as example (2.17) shows:

(2.17) /kʰjèn.tsè/ 'neighbor'

The occurrence of [n] in word-final position is morphophonemically conditioned. Refer to Chapter 4 for more discussion.

Manange has an alveolar tap /ɾ/. There are three allophones, shown here:

(2.18) [ʐ, ɾ̥, ɾ]

/ɾ/ is commonly realised as [ʐ] when in word-initial position. Examples are given in (2.19):

(2.19) /ɾ/, [ʐ]
[ʐû] 'horn'
[ʐʌ̀] 'goat'
[ʐô] 'corpse'

Despite the examples in (2.19), at this time it is unclear if [ʐ] is really an allophone of /ɾ/ or possibly a separate phoneme, which in this case would be the voiced retroflex fricative /ʐ/. Different pronunciations from different consultants have complicated the issue. On the one hand, my younger Kathmandu-based consultant, Eden, insists that the segment can be identified as a tap. On the other hand, my Tengki Manange consultant, while not able to provide her interpretation of what she thinks the segment is, always produces these words using the retroflex fricative [ʐ]. For her, the voiced retroflex fricative is a separate sound.

One piece of evidence pointing to [ʐ] as a separate phoneme would be the presence of minimal pairs. I have no minimal pairs which illustrate a contrast between [ɾ] and [ʐ]. Currently, the only minimal pair involving [ʐ] in my glossary is the following, transcribed phonetically:

(2.20) [ʐ̢ô] 'corpse'
[ʂ̥ô] 'wheat'

This single set suggests the possibility of both a voiced and voiceless retroflex fricative series in Manange. Hoshi (1986a) transcribes the initial consonant of 'wheat' using a voiceless approximant (IPA [ɻ̥]), rather than a voiceless retroflex fricative. In this same glossary, another segmentally similar word *roopʌ* 'friend (male)' occurs with a voiced approximant (IPA [ɹ]), again suggesting a phonemic voicing distinction, but I have not been able to elicit this word. Since the number of forms that suggest that voicing is phonemic is extremely low (only this one minimal pair in my data), I will not posit an additional series of voiced fricatives. Rather, I will posit the initial consonant [ʐ̢] of 'corpse' as an allophonic variant of the tap /ɾ/. This will preserve a voiceless-only obstruent inventory in the language, whereas positing a voiced phoneme /ʐ̢/ would create a severe asymmetry in the inventory, namely only one voiced obstruent phoneme.[5]

Although the voiceless retroflex fricative /ʂ/ has a limited distribution, it occurs in word-initial position in common lexical items. Therefore, I currently treat it as a member of the Manange inventory and discuss it more in §2.2.4.

As opposed to its infrequent occurrence in word-final position, /ɾ/ is more common in C2 onset position. Example (2.21) shows a phonemic representation of occurrences of C2 /ɾ/:

(2.21) /2mɾe/ 'door'[6]
/2pɾĩ/ 'hit'
/1kɾʌ/ 'hair'

/ɾ/ does not follow coronals. For more discussion on Manange syllable structure, see §2.4.

Perceptually, there is a slight devoicing of /ɾ/ when it follows a voiceless aspirated obstruent, as in [ɸɾ̥â] 'foothill/hill' and [ɸɾ̥ʌ̂pʌ] 'to be fine/thin,' suggesting the allophone [ɾ̥], a devoiced version of /ɾ/. Other sonorant C2 onsets such as /l/ and /j/ also are commonly devoiced when following aspirated stops.

/ɾ/ also occurs in word-medial coda and in word final position, as example (2.22) shows:

(2.22) /pʌ̂ɾpʌ̂/ 'thing/object'
/mʌ̂ɾ/ 'yak butter'
/4kʰjoɾ/ 'copper'

Turning to the phoneme /l/, it contrasts with /ɾ/ in C2 onset position, as example (2.23) shows:

---

[5] Another possible account for the presence of voiced [ʐ̢] may lie in a tonal analysis of Manange. The word-initial retroflex fricative in words that show a low-falling pitch (i.e., tone /4/ words) often sounds voiced, suggesting an interaction between tone category and apparent voicing on the initial consonant. However, this initial observation needs further examination before I can posit it as a systematic part of the tone system in Manange.

[6] I have also heard [mʌ̂re] for 'door.'

(2.23) [pʰɾ̥ô] 'to move/walk'
[pʰl̥ô] 'rich'

It is also commonly found in word-initial position, as shown in (2.24):

(2.24) [lʌ̀] 'do'
[lá] 'flee/run away'
[ljé] 'tongue'

/l/ is also found in word-medial onset and in word final position, as example (2.25) shows:

(2.25) [pʌ̂.lê] 'leg'
[jûl] 'village'

Occurrences of /l/ in word-medial coda position are infrequent, and these words may in fact be borrowings.

2.2.4 Retroflexes

At the retroflex point of articulation we find both the voiceless aspirated and unaspirated stops /ʈ; ʈʰ/. They almost always occur word initially, and can be distinguished from each other by the minimal pairs shown in example (2.26):

(2.26) [ʈù] 'sit'
[ʈʰù] 'sew/six'[7]

The unaspirated retroflex can be distinguished from the unaspirated dental stop by the following minimal pair:

(2.27) [tù] 'vagina'
[ʈù] 'sit/stay'

/ʈ/ is found once in word-medial single onset position, as example (2.28) shows:

(2.28) [ʈʌ́.ʈí] 'toilet'

It is unclear whether or not this word is bimorphemic, in which case /ʈ/ would likely be the initial onset of the second morpheme.

/ʈ/ and /ʈʰ/ are infrequent in the language, and are found for the most part only in word-initial position (as examples (2.27-28) show), but they are found in commonly used words. For this reason they are analyzed as phonemic segments in the Manange consonant inventory.

The retroflex fricative /ʂ/ was first discussed in §2.2.3, and examples are repeated here:

---

[7] Both the words for 'sew' and 'six' share identical segmental and suprasegmental features, which is generally not an uncommon phenomenon in Manange.

(2.29) [ʂô] 'wheat'
[ʂî] 'one'

While my consultant Ongma pronounces [ʂì] 'to die' with the voiceless retroflex fricative, my Kathmandu-based consultant Eden pronounces it with a voiceless palatal fricative /ʃ/. Eden also pronounces 'one' with the same palatal fricative, rather than using /ʂ/.

2.2.5 Palatals

At the palatal place of articulation, there are the voiceless unaspirated and aspirated affricates /tʃ, tʃʰ/ in Manange, as well as one voiceless fricative /ʃ/. There is also the palatal nasal /ɲ/ and the palatal glide /j/. Inherent in the palatal obstruents and the nasal is a slight palatal offglide. This offglide is present regardless of the vowel following the onset (except for /i/), and so this is seen as a feature of the segment, rather than a second glide segment such as /tʃj/, or a palatalised offglide series such as /tʃʲ/.

The voiceless unaspirated and aspirated affricates can be distinguished from each other by the minimal pairs, shown in example (2.30):

(2.30) [tʃê] 'tea'[8]
[tʃé] 'ring'
[tʃʰê] 'book'
[tʃʰé] 'bite/pinch (non-human agent)'

For some consultants, /tʃ/ varies with the palatal affricate /ʃ/ in a word-medial C1 onset environment. For example, the word for 'knee' for some Manange speakers is [pú.tʃí], and for others (specifically, consultants from the village of Ngawal) it is [pú.ʃí]. This variation is not systemmatic for all instances of word-medial /tʃ/ however. For example, the word *ȁcuŋ* 'little brother' is not pronounced as [ȁʃuŋ] by any Mananges whom I've worked with.

The segment /ʃ/ does not contrast neatly with any other fricative in Manange. It does however contrast with the aspirated and unaspirated palatal affricates, as shown in the minimal set in example (2.31):

(2.31) [tʃê] 'tea'
[tʃʰê] 'book'
[ʃé] 'louse'

As was discussed earlier, there is a degree of cross-over with respect to how some Mananges use the fricatives /ʃ/ and /s/. However, they all agree that the word for 'louse' begins with /ʃ/ and *not* /s/. This suggests that, for some speakers at least, both /ʃ/ and /s/ are separate phonemes. Another word that is agreed upon by everyone, in terms of the word-initial consonant, is:

(2.32) [ʃì] 'dead'

---

[8] Also frequently pronounced [tʃʌ̂].

In sum, while the distribution of /ʃ/ is irregular and also subject to some substitution and variation for some speakers, it does contrast with both /ʂ/ and /s/ and thus maintains status as a phoneme in the Manange inventory.

The phonemic status of the palatal nasal /ɲ/ is established by the near-minimal set in example (2.33):

(2.33) [ɲè] 'decay, come apart (like ice melting and breaking up)'[9]
[nè] 'melodious'
[ŋí] 'laugh'

The phoneme /ɲ/ occurs infrequently, but is currently analyzed as a phonemic segment in the Manange consonant inventory.

The palatal glide /j/ is common in word-initial position, as the following examples show:

(2.34) [jà] 'hand'
[jû] 'go down'
[jè] 'mountain pass'
[jʌ̀] 'go'

/j/ is also found in C2 onset position. It most frequently occurs following bilabials and velars, but is also occasionally found following non-palatal coronal consonants such as dentals and alveolars, as shown in (2.35):

(2.35)

Bilabials and velars		*Coronals*	
[mjû]	'twist/plait'	[tʰjâ]	'bear/withstand'
[pjû]	'chase'	[tʰjʌ̀]/[tʰjè]	'big'
[pjê]	'wife'	[njû]	'melt'
[kjú]	'water'		
[kjȅ]	'field'		
[ŋjô]	'look at/for'		
[ŋjê]	'milk'		

/j/ does not occur following the tap /ɾ/, or the liquid /l/. In addition, the examples of /j/ following a coronal onset in the second column of (2.35) are representatives of the very few tokens I have of coronal-/j/ onsets. Also, when /j/ is in C1 onset position, it is always the single onset of a CV syllable structure. A more thorough discussion of Manange phonotactics can be found in §2.4 of this chapter.

2.2.6 Velars

At the velar place of articulation are the voiceless unaspirated and aspirated stops /k, kʰ/. Also found is the velar nasal /ŋ/.

The minimal pairs in example (2.36) establish the phonemic status of the unaspirated and aspirated voiceless velars:

---

[9] The word for 'corpse rotting/decay' is /lkʰja/.

(2.36) a. [kú] 'nine'
[kʰù] 'steal'

b. [kjȅ] 'field'
[kʰjȇ] 'road/path'

/k/ also infrequently appears in coda position or in word-final position (in Nepali loan words). In these cases, it is either phonetically realised as unreleased [k̚] or it lenites into a velar fricative [x]. Examples of these are found in (2.37):

(2.37)

Unreleased		*Lenition*	
[tʃòk̚.tsʌ̀]	'table'[10]	[mā̀x#mali]	'velvet'[11] (Nepali)
[tok̚]	'medal' (Nepali)		

When /k/ appears as a single onset in word-medial position, and is adjacent to the back vowel /o/, it is often pronounced as more of a uvular stop, as the following example illustrates:

(2.38) /pʰjòkò/ [ɸjòqò] 'treek bark'

Based on its realisations in word-final and in word-medial onset position, I analyze /k/ as having four allophones, shown in example (2.39):

(2.39) /k/
[k, k̚, x, q]

The 'unstable' or varied behavior of /k/ in coda position is not surprising, given the overall lack of coda obstruents in Manange. As was discussed earlier, /p/ behaves in the same general manner, becoming unreleased in its few token occurrences in coda position. The one other obstruent not yet discussed (the glottal stop /ʔ/) also has an irregular distribution, and will be described in more detail in §2.2.7.

The velar nasal /ŋ/ is common in Manange, occurring in both word-initial and word-final position, as example (2.40) shows:

(2.40)

Word-initial		*Word-final*	
[ŋî]	'two'	[ʃi̋ŋ]	'wood'
[ŋôkɾôŋ]	'forehead'	[ŋjʌ̂mʌ̂ŋ]	'ear'[12]
[ŋʌ̀]	'1st.Sg.'	[sù̏ŋ]	'mouth'

Its phonemic status is established by the following minimal pairs:

(2.41) [nʌ́] 'sick'
[ŋʌ̀] 1st person singular absolutive pronoun

---

[10] For some speakers, I have also heard a kind of metathesis of onset consonants for 'table': [tsòk.tʃʌ]
[11] The number symbol (#) in this grammar indicates a word boundary.
[12] Another pronunciation of 'ear' is [ŋ̍imâ].

2.2.7 Glottals

The glottals in Manange are represented by the glottal fricative /h/ and the glottal stop /ʔ/. Currently they are analyzed as phonemic segments in the inventory. However, /h/ is extremely rare in occurrence, with only four examples in my database. All examples include /h/ in word-initial single onset position, as example (2.42) shows:

(2.42) [hài lʌ̀] (*1hai* 'yawn' *3lʌ* 'do') 'to yawn'[13]
[hài lʌ̀.le] (*1hai* 'yawn' *3lʌ-le* 'do-**') 'at last'
[há.júŋ] 'never/when'
[hú.ŋí] 'day before yesterday/other day'

/h/ always appears in word-initial position. However, an analysis of h-epenthesis is currently unmotivated, as vowel-initial words are possible (although infrequent) in Manange; /h/ therefore is posited as a member of Manange's phoneme inventory, with limited distribution.

The glottal stop /ʔ/ occurs slightly more frequently than does the glottal fricative, but with only around twenty attestations of it in my database of over 1,000 words, it is still rare. At times, it is in word-initial single onset position, as shown in example (2.43)

(2.43) [ʔūʃū] 'apple'
[ʔārʌ̄] 'alcohol/liquor'[14]

However, it is not always present in this position. Verbs that begin with the negative prefix /a-/ such as *1a-jʌ* 'not go' do not have [ʔ] before the prefix. Neither does my one vowel-only verb stem 'cover' with a both a phonemic and phonetic representation shown in example (2.44):

(2.44) /3u/ [û] 'cover (verb)'

Sound spectrograms have shown words like 'cover' to be lacking the glottal stop word-initially, while words like 'apple' generally have it.

[ʔ] is also present at times in word-medial coda position or in word-final position, as example (2.45) shows:

(2.45) [tsʰâʔ.ɾâŋ] 'all/every'
[kù.ɾù.ʔ] 'barley grain'[15]
[kôlâʔ] 'clothing'
[kôlêʔ] 'slow/slowly'
[péʔ] 'very/extremely'

However, in careful pronunciations, I have also heard other consultants say these same words without using the glottal stop. In some of the adjective or intensifier words above ('all/every,' 'slow,' and 'very'), [ʔ] may serve a discourse-emphatic function, which may

[13] *Hai* is a Nepali borrowing, and it occurs in various compounds and lexicalisations.
[14] To add to the mystery of the glottal stop in Manange, not all of my informants include this segment in their pronunciation of 'apple' or 'alcohol'
[15] The word for 'barley' is also pronounced as [kʌ̀ɾu] by some Mananges.

at least partially predict its occurrence. In some cases, vowel lengthening can be predicted this way; a word like /lu/ 'distal demonstrative' can be lengthened to indicate that something is remotely distal, as in:

(2.46) [ù:] [tôrê]
DIST graveyard
'that graveyard way over there'

In the same sense, [ʔ] may serve as an intensifier.

There is also the possibility that in word-final position, and following certain vowels [ʔ] could be an allophone of a word-final stop such as /k/. I do not have data to either support or reject this possibility at this time. For now I will consider it to have phonemic status in the inventory. However, this is a tentative analysis. A more thorough investigation regarding the distribution of glottal stop in Manange is necessary before its status in the consonant inventory can be more confidently established.

Studies of Tibetan dialects such as Tòkpa Tibetan (also *Drogpas* or *Dokpa*) have suggested that glottal stop in coda position may in fact be a remnant of another older final consonant (Barthmaier pers. comm.). It is not clear whether this is the case for Manange, as I have no attestations of another consonant in place of glottal stop.

2.3 Manange vowels

2.3.1 Vowel phonemes

The Manange vowel phoneme inventory is given in the Table 2.2:

Table 2.2: Manange oral vowel phoneme inventory

Front	*Central*	*Back*
i		u
e		o
	ʌ	
	a	

In addition, Manange shows four nasal phonemes, /ĩ, ẽ, ã, ũ/. These are discussed in more detail in this section.[16]

Example (2.47) provides minimal pairs to contrast the front vowels /i, e/:

(2.47) [pʰì] 'wine'
[pʰé] 'metal/iron'

Example (2.48) provides minimal pairs to contrast the back and central vowels:

[16] There may be a nasal /õ/, but I've only heard this in two words: *lkõpʌ* 'to get dressed' (which alternates with *lkãÑpʌ*) and also in *gõpʌ* 'gompa' from Tibetan.

(2.48) [kʰù] 'cheat/steal'
[kʰò] 'suitable/to like'
[kʰʌ̀] 'come'

The low central vowel /a/ and the [-high] central vowel /ʌ/ are contrasted by the minimal pairs shown in example (2.49):

(2.49) [lʌ̀] 'do'
[lá] 'flee/run away'

Four of the six vowels in Manange show nasal counterparts. They are contrasted with their plain counterparts in the minimal pairs below:

(2.50)

Non-nasal		*Nasal*	
[tʃà]	'search'	[tʃã̀]	'small'
[tʰê]	'hear'	[tʰẽ̀]	'move something'
[pî]	'say'	[pĩ̀]	'give'
[tʰí]	'fall & break'	[tʰĩ̂]	'house'
[tʃʰê]	'book'	[tʃʰẽ̀]	'always'
[kù]	'chest'	[kṹ]	'expensive'

It should be noted that nasalised vowels occur in all tone categories.

The phonetic realisation of nasal /ɪ̃/ in Manange is variable. With some speakers, it is perceptually clear that the nasalisation is a feature of the vowel, and not present on a coda segment. With others, the nasal quality is perceived as a word-final velar nasal consonant, as in:

(2.51) [tɪ̀ŋ] 'heart'
[tʰîŋ] 'house'

One hypothesis is that the nasal vowels have originated from an earlier CVC syllable structure, where the final C, a nasal segment, has become reanalyzed as a nasal vowel quality. The variation in pronunciation that I am witnessing may be the result of a system in the middle of change, or may simply be a type of dialectal or idiolectal variation.

2.3.2 Allophonic variation

The front vowel phonemes /i, e/ are often realised as [-ATR] [ɪ, ɛ] in closed syllables. Example (2.52) provides instances of this:

(2.52) [kjêl] 'win'
[tʃêm] 'soft'
[sîr] 'comb'

The back round vowel /o/ loses its rounded feature in some words where it occurs word-finally, as in the word for 'abdomen':

(2.53) /4pʰo/ [ɸô̞] 'abdomen'

2.3.3 Vowel length

Hoshi's 1986b vowel phoneme inventory contains five long vowels or 'geminate vowels' (191):

(2.54) /aa, ii, ee, oo, uu/

I currently have no evidence in support of phonemic vowel length in Manange. An acoustic analysis of vowel length has suggested that open-syllable vowels are generally slightly longer than vowels in closed syllables.[17] Within any particular category of syllable type, there is no evidence to suggest that there is any contrastive or meaningful difference in vowel length. In addition, an analysis of vowel length from data gathered from one consultant often does not reveal the same measurements as an analysis of vowel length of identical data from a different consultant.

2.4 Manange phonotactics

2.4.1 Syllable template and syllable structure

The maximal syllable template in Manange is (C) (C) V (C). Minimally, a syllable requires a vowel (as in *u* 'cave' and *u* distal demonstrative 'that'), but almost all words are minimally CV.

Phonemically there are no long vowels in Manange. However, vowels can be perceived as longer in certain multi-morphemic environments. For more discussion on morphophonemic variation in Manange verb stems, refer to Chapter 4.2.

Syllable onsets can be subdivided into simple onsets with a single C and complex onsets, which entail consonant clusters. Simple onsets can be word-initial and word-medial. Complex onsets may also be word-initial and word-medial. Each possibility is further described below.

2.4.2 Word-initial single onsets

Word-initial single onsets have a single consonant, which may be any member of the Manange phonemic consonant inventory. Randomly chosen examples in phonemic transcription are provided in (2.55):

(2.55)	/2peʔ/	'very'
	/4pʰo/	'abdomen'
	/4mɛ̃/	'grandmother'
	/1tʌ/	'horse'
	/1tʰɛ̃/	'empty'
	/3tsu/	'this'
	/4tsʰaŋ/	'put/keep'
	/3sʌ/	'ground'
	/1nʌ/	'sick'
	/ɾu/	'horn'

[17] Likewise, open syllable monosyllabic words elicited in isolation are generally longer in duration than they are when elicited within a clausal frame.

/3lo/	'year'
/2ʈu/	'cereal/grain'
/4ʈʰu/	'six'
/1ʂu/	'wash'
/2tʃe/	'ring'
/2tʃɛ̃/	'soft'
/3ja/	'hand'
/1ɲe/	'decayed'
/1ʃi/	'dead'
/1ku/	'nine'
/3kʰi/	'3(SG)'
/1ŋi/	'laugh'
/ʔūʃu/	'apple'
/hájuŋ/	'when'

2.4.3 Word-medial single onsets

In this section, I will restrict my discussion to monomorphemic roots only. Affixation, cliticisation and other processes may produce combinations not discussed here.

Obstruents, which are robust in word-initial single onset position, are somewhat less common word-medially. This may be in part because most Manange roots are monosyllabic. Often modern disyllabics are either synchronically or historically bimorphemic in their morphological structure, so that what may seem like a word-internal obstruent is actually the initial consonant of a separate morpheme. As a result, the aspirated obstruents are not found word-medially in single onset position. /ɲ/ is also not found in word-medial onset position. Other obstruents such as /t, ts, tʃ, k, ʈ, ɾ/ are found word-medially, but are infrequent in occurrence. Examples of these segments in word-medial single onset position are shown in (2.56):

(2.56)	[sʌ̌.tûɾ]	'enemy'
	[tʃòk.tsù]	'table'
	[mʌ̂n.tʃê]	'lips'
	[à.kjè]	'grandfather'
	[ʈʌ́.ʈí]	'toilet'
	[à.ɾù]	'auntie'
	[ʌ̀.tsè]	translates as roughly 'then'

It may turn out in future analyses that these words here are synchronically or diachronically bimorphemic. However currently, I am only able to analyze these tokens as monomorphemic and disyllabic.

Other infrequent word-medial single onsets include /s, ŋ, ʃ/. Examples are shown below:

(2.57)	[ʔūʃu]	'apple'
	[táɾŋé]	'fish'
	[tósóŋ]	'now'

The only segments which occur with great frequency in this position are two nasals /m, n/, and the lateral /l/. Examples of these are provided in (2.58):

(2.58)

/m/		/n/	
[ŋjʌ̂.mʌ̂ŋ]	'ear'	[kù.nǐ]	'curried foods'
[kʰì.mǐ]	'3rd.Pl.'	[kí.ní]	'quick/quickly'

/l/	
[pʌ̂.lê]	'leg'
[kò.là]	'child'

This suggests that the preferred word-medial onsets in Manange are generally sonorants.

2.4.4 Word-initial complex onsets

Manange permits three kinds of complex onsets in word-initial position. They are clusters formed with the glide /j/, the lateral /l/ and the tap /ɾ/ in C2 position. The initial C in complex onsets is almost always bilabial or velar, with the exceptions to this general tendency being a few words with a coronal obstruent in C1 onset position before the glide /j/ (as in /3tʰjʌ/ 'big'). Example (2.59) provides some examples of complex onsets in Manange:

(2.59)

/j/		/l/	
[kjʌ̂pʌ̂]	'lungs'[18]	[pʰl̥î]	'four'
[mjê]	'cow'	[mlɛ̀nkjà]	'black'

/ɾ/	
[mɾɛ̀]	'door'
[kɾɔ̀]	'burn'

/l/ occurs after bilabial C1 onsets only, while /ɾ/ and /j/ follow both bilabials and velars.

2.4.5 Word-medial complex onsets

In general, word-medial complex onsets in Manange occur with even less frequency than do word-initial complex onsets. (2.60) provides examples of these:

(2.60)

/j/		/l/	
[tʌ̀ɾ.kja]	'white'	[pʰà.klì]	'head'

/ɾ/	
[nó.kɾɛ́]	'bone'

[18] I have also heard 'lungs' pronounced as [kjôpʌ] by other consultants.

In the above examples, I analyze the stops in the second syllables as C1 onsets to this syllable. I do so because these stops do not sound unreleased, as in [kˀ]. If they did, this would be evidence of their status as codas of the first syllable (see §2.2.6).

2.4.6 Word-medial and word-final codas

Coda segments can be split into two types, those occurring word-medially and those occurring word-finally. With the exception of /n/, those codas which occur word-medially also occur in word-final position; /n/ occurs in word-medial coda position but is not found word-finally. The most frequently occurring coda segments are: /m, n, ŋ, ɾ, l/. Examples of these are found in (2.61):

(2.61)	*Word-medial*			*Word-final*	
	/m/	[tsʰĩm.ɾa]	'all purpose flour'	[kɾʌ̀m]	'cheek'[19]
	/n/	[kʌ̀n.tʌ̀]	'chin'	Does not occur	
	/ŋ/	[tsōŋ.nô]	'chive'[20]	[káŋ]	'snowy mountain'
	/ɾ/	[táɾ.ŋʌ́]	'fish'	[kʰjôɾ]	'copper'
	/l/	[òl.kjà]	'red'	[tʃép̚.kjél]	'hawk'

The unreleased stops [pˀ] and [kˀ] occur infrequently in coda position. (2.59) provides examples of these:

(2.62)	*Word-medial*		*Word-final*	
	[sʌ̄p̚.tɛ̃]	'rug'	[sup̚]	'body'
	[mùk̚.pʌ̀]	'brown'	[ˈtûk̚]	'poison'

Assuming that the glottal stop is phonemic, it also appears in word-medial and in word-final coda position, as example (2.63) shows:

(2.63)	*Word-medial*		*Word-final*	
	[tsʰáʔɾáŋ]	'all'	[pé̞ʔ]	'very/extremely'

However, its presence in these positions is erratic and it is subject to deletion both word-medially and word-finally.

2.5 Tone in Manange

In this section I examine in more detail the tonal patterns in Manange words. I first discuss my previous research on monosyllables, and then turn to the patterns seen in disyllable roots.

Previous descriptions of Manange phonology have posited a four-tone system in the language, characterised by four pitch melody distinctions and two (obstruent) onset aspiration distinctions, represented in the chart below (Hoshi 1986 a, b; Mazaudon 1978, 1988):

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[19] 'cheek' is also pronounced [kɾʌ̀mʌ] or [kɾʌ̀ma], or even [kùɾʌm] by different informants.

[20] This is a compound: [ʃáŋ] 'round garlic from Kathmandu,' and [nô] 'long, thin garlic from Manang'.

(2.64)

Tone	*Pitch characteristic*	*Onset aspiration*
/1/	high, rising	+/- Asp
/2/	high, falling	- Asp
/3/	mid, level	+/- Asp
/4/	low, falling	+ Asp[21]

For Hoshi, tones /1/ and /3/ contain both aspirated and unaspirated initials, but are distinguished by different pitch melodies. Tones /2/ and /4/ show a consonant phonation split, and while both have falling pitches, the starting pitch for each category is different (high for /2/ and low for /4/).

My own investigation of Manange tone has been encumbered by my realisation that the system in this language is highly variable and is susceptible to both idiolectal and cross-speaker differentiation. Perceptually, the cues to Manange are quite subtle, and there are a number of words that could realistically be assigned either of two tonal values. In addition, when working with younger, urban-based Manange speakers, it was not obvious that they were aware that different words could be identified and grouped together based only on properties such as 'tune' (pitch). When I uttered certain target words (words that are segmentally identical, but different in pitch qualities) to these speakers, I frequently received different translations from them. I was often told by older Mananges that the younger speakers have 'lost their tunes.' When working with these older Mananges, it was apparent that they were aware that words can be organised into different groups based on their pitch properties, but again, the perceptual cues to tone were difficult for me to pick up on.

As a result, I decided to investigate the Manange tone system through a computer software-based acoustic analysis. My first examination of the articulatory and acoustic parameters of tone in Manange was based on data gathered by consultants who have lived in the city of Kathmandu for many years, or who were born and raised there. An initial wordlist of monosyllabic, frame-elicited words, gathered from four Kathmandu-based Manange speakers shows a great degree of variation and overlap with respect to both starting pitch and pitch change, as the following two pitch-trace figures illustrate.[22]

Both figures display pitch traces for 58 words elicited from one consultant, but the data are representative of the other three Kathmandu-based consultants.

Figure 2.1 shows pitch traces for monosyllabic words, initially assigned tone /1/ and /2/ status by Hoshi (and re-assigned to tones /2/ and /3/ by me, facilitating comparison with data from other Tamangic languages). Tone /2/ words are represented by solid lines and tone /3/ words are represented by dashed lines. Figure 2.2 shows pitch traces for

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[21] Hoshi's glossary does not contain tone /4/ aspirated consonants; rather, all C1 onsets in tone /4/ words are transcribed with voiceless unaspirated segments, followed by a voiceless C2 sonorant (i.e., /l̥, ɾ̥/). My own examination of tone /4/ words leads me to believe that tone /4/ words in Manange do in fact have aspirated C1 onsets and that the C2 sonorants are realised as devoiced by the preceding aspirated segment. I do not suspect that the Manange phonemic inventory contains voiceless sonorant segments. Therefore Hoshi /4pl̥u/ is Hildebrandt /4pʰlu/ 'seed,' for example.

[22] While the pitch traces in these charts are from words that were elicited only in a frame-medial context, the words were recorded in both isolated and frame contexts. In the frame elicitations, the target word was the middle word of a 'say' clause:

1ŋʌ=tse *2tʌ* *3pi-tsi*
1st.sg=ERG horse say-PERF
'I said horse'

monosyllabic words, assigned /1/ and /4/ status by me (and originally assigned /3/ and /4/ status by Hoshi). Tone /1/ words are represented by solid lines, and tone /4/ words are represented by dashed lines. As these two figures show, there is a great deal of variation in how these pitch traces are distributed.[23] In addition, the extent of the overlap of pitches suggests that there is no organisation into distinct tonal categories.

While tone seems highly variable when analyzed in one population of Mananges, an examination of similar data elicited from older, more conservative speakers who have lived in the Manange District all or most of their lives reveals a somewhat different picture of the system. A sample of 129 monosyllabic, frame-medially-elicited words (both open and closed-syllable type represented), when viewed in pitch-trace charts like the ones depicted above, show a more homogenous, consistent distribution within the separate tone categories:

Figure 2.3 illustrates pitch traces for tone /2/ and /3/ tokens (tone /2/ tokens with solid lines, tone /3/ tokens with dashed lines). Some tone /2/ tokens appear to start at around 240 Hz. and rise slightly, before they fall again and end at an ending pitch that is nearly identical to the starting pitch. Other tone /2/ words remain more level in melody through time. For this reason, I refer to tone /2/ pitch as high, and not high-rising. Onset consonants for tone /2/ words include both aspirated and unaspirated obstruents, as well as all sonorant types. Tone /3/ tokens start at a much higher pitch (approximately 265 Hz. or higher) and fall more dramatically through time, and I refer to tone /3/ as high-falling, with initial unaspirated obstruents and all sonorant types.

Figure 2.4 illustrates pitch traces for tone /1/ (solid lines) and /4/ (dashed lines) tokens. Tone /1/ in this analysis is actually the 'lowest' of the four tones, starting low (at under 230 Hz) and remaining level through time, or falling a bit. All initial obstruent and sonorant types are represented for tone /1/ in this figure, and I refer to it as a low tone. Tone /4/ tokens, while falling in pitch through time, start at a somewhat higher frequency (at approximately 245-250 Hz.), and show only aspirated (if obstruent) initials, as well as all sonorant types. I refer to it as a low-falling (or possibly mid-falling) tone.

As a result of these findings, I can report that for more conservative Manange speakers, there is clearer acoustic evidence of a four-tone system in the phonology of the language, represented below:

(2.65)

Tone	*Pitch characteristics*	*Onset type*
/1/	Low (level)	All types
/2/	High (level)	All types
/3/	High falling	[- asp] obstruents; all sonorants
/4/	Low falling	[+ asp] obstruents; all sonorants

It should be noted that words with nasalised vowels are also found in all tone categories.

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[23] The tokens represented in Figures 2.1 and 2.2 are C(C)V monosyllabics only, while the tokens represented in Figures 2.2 and 2.3 are C(C)V(C) monosyllabics.

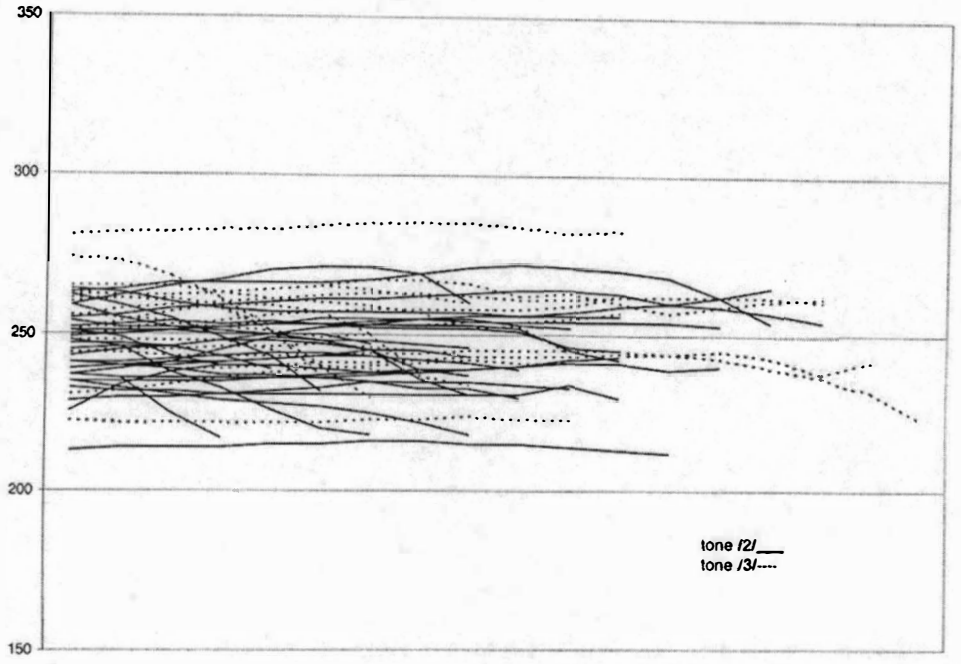

Figure 2.1: Pitch traces for 27 tone /2/ and /3/ words, Kathmandu consultant

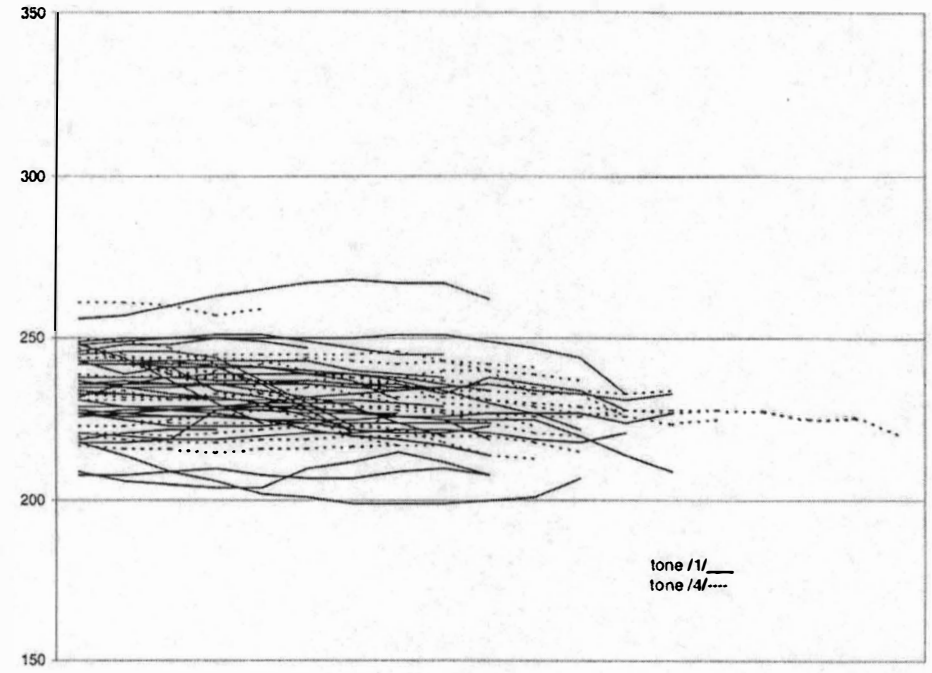

Figure 2.2: Pitch traces for 31 tone /1/ and /4/ words, Kathmandu consultant

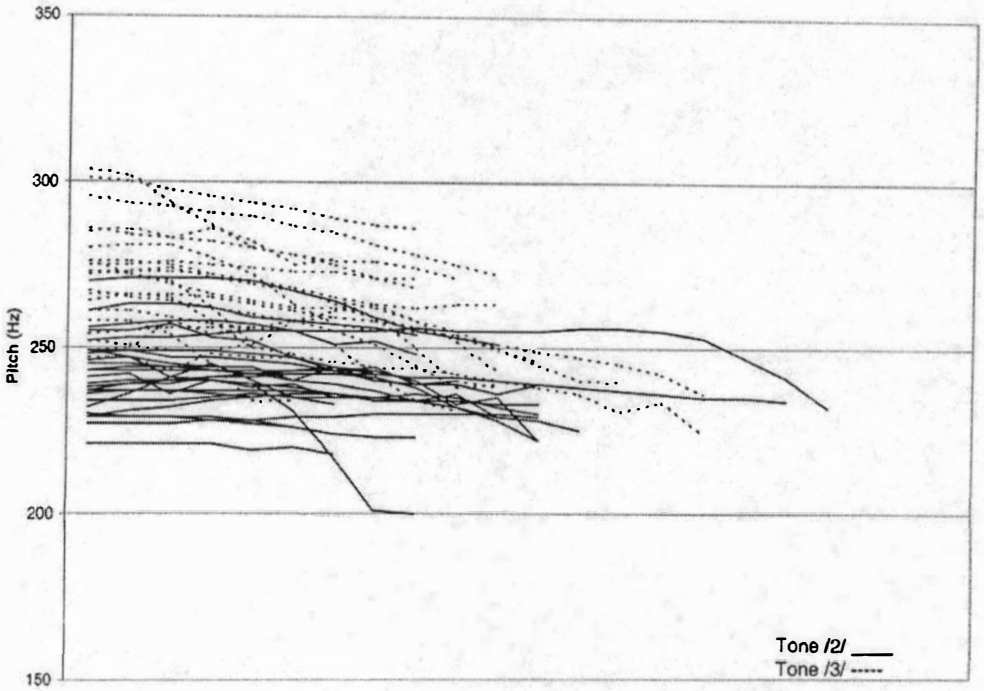

Figure 2.3: Pitch traces for 49 tone /2/ and /3/ tokens, Manang consultant

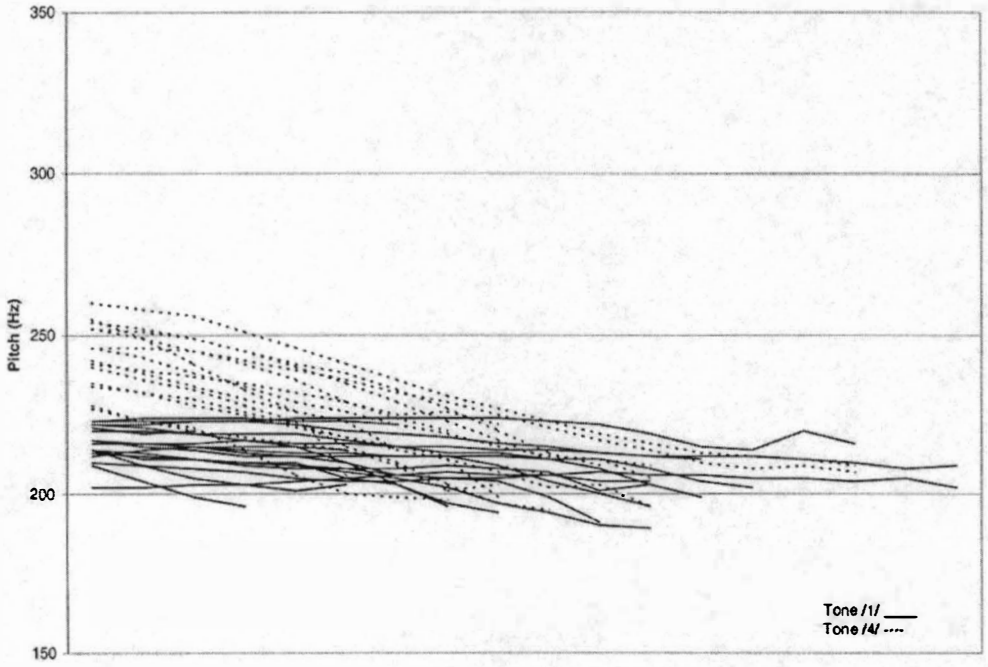

Figure 2.4: Pitch traces for 36 tone /1/ and /4/ words, Manang consultant

One phenomenon in monosyllabic roots that is worth noting concerns the distribution of closed-syllable words in this tone system. As was described in §2.4 above, coda consonants in Manange are restricted to /l, ɾ, ŋ/, with a couple of isolated exceptions. Thus far in my analysis, all *-ŋ* final words belong to categories /1/, /2/, /3/ (with only a couple of tone /4/ *-ŋ* finals). The *-l* final words which I have analyzed are even more restricted in their tonal distribution, occurring in tone /3/ category only. This may in fact be a product of my limited sample of *-l* final words in my current study, and so more analysis is needed here. Even though we do find these interesting correlations between tone category and consonant final, it should be noted that we cannot derive one from the other. The majority of Manange roots are vowel-final, and these are found in all four categories with no significant patterns of co-occurrence.

The *-ɾ* final words, on the other hand, occur largely in tone category /4/, although there are a couple of noteworthy exceptions:

(2.66) /2sʌɾ/ 'star'[24]
/3mʌɾ/ 'butter'

If the analysis of tone in Manange monosyllabic roots can be called tentative, then the one for disyllabic words is even more so. This is because of several factors. First, disyllabic words in Manange are quite rare, and occur in more limited distribution throughout the language (e.g. there are no disyllabic verb or verb-like adjective roots; there are no disyllabic numerals under eleven, etc.). Second, it is difficult to find minimal or even near-minimal disyllabic monomorphemic pairs to establish phonemic contrasts. Thus, it is difficult to work with Manange speakers in categorizing disyllabic words based on their pitch qualities only. Third, the pitch patterns of some disyllabics are contrary to what would be expected, suggesting either a different tone system for disyllabics, or perhaps pointing to newer lexical formations in the language.

Like other Tamangic languages, the tone system for Manange words has been described as 'word tone' (see Mazaudon 1973 for discussion of Tamang word tone; see also Mazaudon 1977, 1978, 1988; Hoshi 1986 a, b). Manange has four tones, and these tones are found on all syllable types. In multisyllabics, the tone (including both pitch characteristics and segmental features of that tone) manifests itself on the first syllable of the word, and carries across the entire word (with a possible slight declination for level tones), including all fused particles and affixes. Bound grammatical morphemes are inherently toneless, and they display the tone of the root word. In this respect, the domain of tone in Manange and other Tamangic languages is not the syllable, as it is in many other Tibeto-Burman languages, but is rather the phonological word (the root plus all bound morphemes).

In my own (ongoing) analysis of tone on Manange disyllabics, I have found that in most cases the notion of word-tone is appropriate. This includes monosyllabic roots with suffixes like aspect markers and the *-pʌ* nominaliser. In such cases, the phonetic correlates of tone do in fact manifest themselves on the first syllable (the root) and carry across the phonological word, with a frequent slight declination in pitch evident on the second syllable of the word. Therefore, verbs and verb-like adjectives that are elicited with the *-pʌ* citation form fit in nicely with the system posited for monosyllabics. It will become

[24] /sʌɾ/ 'star' may in fact be a tone /3/ word, and I'm still analyzing the pitch characteristics as they exist in elicitations from other speakers.

clear in the following paragraphs that I do not have a unified tonal analysis that encompasses all syllable types in Manange. For that reason, rather than using tone numbers as I do for monosyllabics, I indicate tone on certain disyllabics with diacritics over the vowel. A [ˉ] diacritic indicates a mid-level tone; a [ˋ] diacritic indicates a low level tone; a [ˊ] diacritic indicates a high level tone; a [ˆ] diacritic indicates a falling tone; a [ˇ] indicates a rising tone.

There are also a number of disyllabic root nouns, where I suspect the second syllable is a now-fused *-pʌ* nominaliser, such as:

(2.67) /kjôpʌ/ 'lungs' (a noun derived from the verb 'to mourn')
/tsʰîmpʌ/ 'liver' (a noun derived from the verb 'to catch')
/pʰôlpʌ/ 'frog' (a noun derived from the verb 'to roll/dredge')
/kʰjâpʌ/ 'king' (a noun derived from the verb 'to set up a place')
/pɐ̄ɾpʌ/ 'thing, object' (a noun derived from the verb 'to do a religious activity')

These words (except for *pɐ̄ɾpʌ̂* 'thing') show word-level tone patterns, with the level or falling pitches spreading out across the second syllable. For words that fit in with the existing tone system, tone is marked on the first syllable only.

However, there are a number of words that display individual pitch trajectories, and even markedly different starting pitches (i.e., a kind of pitch re-set), on each syllable. These words do not fit neatly into the existing monosyllabic/word-tone tone system. These 'deviant' pitch patterns can be grouped into roughly three categories: words where the pitch on the first syllable falls and on the second syllable remains level; words where the pitch on the first syllable is level, and then falls on the second syllable, and words with a rise-fall pitch pattern. Examples from these three categories are shown below:

(2.68) *(Low, mid or high) level-falling*
[ʃù.kɾî] 'cigarette'
[kʌ̀ɾ.tê] 'knife'
[kò.ʈê] 'button'
[ŋjō.kɾô̞] 'breast'
[ŋɵ̄.kɾôŋ] 'forehead'
[tɵ̄.ɾê] 'graveyard'
[kɵ̄.lâ] 'fabric, dress'
[tɵ̄.sɵ́] 'now'
[tʃáŋ.kú] 'green'
[tʃʰú.pî] 'duck'
[tsá.lì] 'fishing net'

Falling-level
[tô.ŋè] 'bear'
[pû.lù] 'hat/cap'
[nʌ̂.kjù] 'dog'
[tʃʰû.kù] 'cooking oil'
[pʰjô.kò] 'tree bark'
[ʈʌ̂.kà] 'playing cards'

[nʌ̂.kī] 'rice sifter'
[mʌ̂n.tʃē] 'chin'
[mû.ʃʌ̄] 'smoke'
[nâ.hūŋ] 'forest'

Rise fall/rise-level
[mě.lʌ̂ŋ] 'mirror'
[pŭ.lûŋ] 'insect'
[ʈě.ŋê] 'guitar'
[ŋĭ.mâ] 'ear'
[pŭ.ʈúl] 'bracelet'
[nĭ.kú] 'tear drop'

These words show variable starting pitch heights; some start at a low pitch, some start at a mid height, and some start at a high pitch. The second syllable in these groups always shows a different trajectory (in both frame-medial and isolated elicitations), either re-setting to a slightly higher pitch and remaining level, or falling. At this point, I can speculate that some words with individual pitches that overlay the different syllables might be recent compounds, and haven't reached a state of total lexicalisation into one disyllabic root (with one pitch melody). This would explain the rise-fall pattern of 'tear drop', which seems to be a loose collocation of *2mi* 'eye' and *2kju* 'water.' There may be a kind of tone sandhi process here where the second element undergoes a tonal dissimilation process, driving the rise-fall contour. The word for 'oil' might also be explained this way, as I suspect it is a combination of *2tʃʰi* 'lard' and *2kju* 'water.' The word for 'enemy' might also fit under this explanation; many Mananges insist that the word for 'enemy' is just *1ʂʌ*, without the second syllable. For the few speakers who pronounce it as a disyllabic root, this word may be an older collocation.

Most of the words in these categories however, are morphologically unanalyzeable to Mananges beyond their disyllabic meanings. At this point, I need to continue working with Manange speakers and expand this analysis to better understand the nature of the individual pitch patterns in these words. Among the working hypotheses that I am considering are the possibility that pitch on these second syllables is phonetically conditioned, or that some disyllabics in Manange do in fact manifest a syllable-level tone system (as opposed to, or in addition to, a word-level tone system). Another possibility is that some lexical items are newer collocations, compounds, or the result of recent fusings of grammatical morphemes (such as old classifiers) onto root words, and thus show different pitch patterns.

2.6 Word structure and stress assignment in Manange

Most monomorphemic lexical items in Manange are also mono- or disyllabic. The addition of affixes can form tri- or polysyllabic words, as (2.69) shows:

(2.69) a. *ʃêli=tse*
wolf=PL
'wolves'

b. *3mi=ko=ɾi*
person=DEF=LOC
'at/to the person' (can also mean 'in')

c. *4nu-pʌ-ɾi*
sleep-NOM-PURP
'in order to sleep'

Literature on languages with word-stress systems describes an absence of contrastive stress on polysyllabic words (Matisoff 1999; Mazaudon 1973, 1977). My own findings are largely in line with this; in Manange, polysyllabic words, a slightly heavier stress most often falls on the initial syllable of the root, regardless of the overall phonotactic structure of the phonological word. So for example, in bimorphemic words where the root word is monosyllabic, main stress falls on the root, as shown in the examples in (2.70):

(2.70)

1'kju=ɾi	*3'mi=tse*	*2'ŋjo-tse*
water=LOC	person=PL	look/search-CC
'in the water'	'people'	'searching/looking'

Perceptually speaking, Mananges speakers agree that the 'most accented' syllable is generally the first one. My own phonetic analyses confirm this, but overall there isn't a very noticeable difference in stress patterns on different syllables. Initial syllables typically show a somewhat longer vowel duration and a minimally higher amplitude of the vowel (by about 2 decibels) than do penultimate or final syllables.

Of course, given that the tone system in this language is somewhat complicated, the same can be said for the stress system. I have noticed a number of words with phonetic evidence (through vowel duration and amplitude differences) of final stress. These words are listed below (stress is shown with the symbol ['] before the stressed syllable):

(2.71) *Words with final stress*

[kò'la]	'child'
[kʰù'ju]	'old woman'
[kòn'ta]	'chin'
[mòŋ'ʈe]	'moustache'
[pû'lù]	'hat/cap'
[mě'lʌ̂ŋ]	'mirror'
[pŭ'lûŋ]	'insect'
[ʈě'ŋê]	'guitar'
[sʌ̌'tûɾ]	'enemy'
[ŋjʌ'mʌ̂ŋ]	'ear'
[pŭ'ʈúl]	'bracelet'
[pɐ̄'le]	'leg'
[kò'ʈê]	'button'
[tʊ̄'ɾê]	'graveyard'
[ŋjʊ̄'kɾôŋ]	'breast'
[tʊ̄'sôŋ]	'now'

[kɔ'lâ] 'dress, clothing'
[ŋɔ'krôŋ] 'forehead'

These words generally have a longer vowel duration on the second syllable, and the second-syllable vowels show amplitudes of between five and seven decibels higher than do the initial-syllable vowels. The final stress pattern in these words occurs in both isolation and frame-medial contexts, and in different repetitions of the same word. Interestingly, many of these words are also ones with syllable-based pitch patterns (as opposed to word-tone pitch) and cases of pitch re-set. For now, I leave the topic of stress with just these observations. As I expand my analysis of tone in different syllable and word types, I hope to revisit this issue.

2.7 Reduplication strategies

There are a couple of Manange lexical items that show partial or whole-syllable reduplication, although this strategy is limited to a few descriptive terms and a couple of verbs. Examples of whole-syllable reduplication of verbs include:

(2.72)	*1ŋje.ŋje 11ʌ*	'annoy do'	'to annoy'
	4kul.kul 11ʌ	'move do'	'to move'
	2tʃutʃu		'after'
	2tʃotʃoŋ		'similar/similarly'

As these examples show, some reduplicated verbal particles occur before the pro-verb *11ʌ* 'do.' The verb 'to move' is also often elicited as its own monomorphemic verb /4kul/ 'move'

Adverbial/adjective-like words such as 'quickly,' 'slowly,' 'similar' and 'after' may be pronounced as single, monomorphemic lexical items:

(2.73)	/kǵini/	'quickly'
	/kôle/	'slowly'
	/2tʃoŋ/	'similar/similarly'
	/2tʃu/	'after'

However in discourse environments, I often hear them in reduplicated form:

(2.74)	[kǵini.kini]	'quickly'
	[kôle.kôle]	'slowly'
	[tʃó.tʃóŋ]	'similar'

In these cases, the meaning is often (but not necessarily) emphatic, meaning 'really quickly/slowly/similarly.' The word for 'slowly' can also show partial reduplication:

(2.75)	[kôl.kôle]	'slowly'
	or	
	[kôleʔ.lê]	'slowly'

It is interesting to note the behavior of the approximant /l/ in the 'slowly' examples. In the first partial reduplication strategy, it appears that /l/ is a coda consonant. In the second strategy, it looks like an onset consonant.

2.8 Orthography

For the purposes of simplicity and readability, I have constructed an orthography that I will use throughout the rest of this grammar. The following two tables represent a re-transcription of the Manange consonant and vowel phonemes as I will use them in following chapters. Whenever a phonetic transcription is used, it will appear within the phonetic square brackets ([ ]). Note that in Table 2.4, *in, an, un,* and *en* represent the IPA symbols and diacritics [ĩ], [ã], [ũ], and [ẽ], respectively.

Table 2.3: Manange consonant phonemes (orthographic transcription)

	bilabial	dental	alveolar	retroflex	palatal	velar	glottal
Obstruents							
Voiceless Stops							
aspiriated	ph	th		ṭh		kh	
unaspirated	p	t		ṭ		k	ʔ
labialised							
aspirated	phw					kw	
unaspirated	pw						
Voiceless Fricatives							
unaspirated			s	sr	sh		h
Voiceless Affricates							
aspirated			tsh		ch		
unaspirated			ts		c		
Tap			r				
Sonorants							
Nasals							
plain	m		n		ny	ŋ	
labialised	mw					ŋw	
Lateral Approximant				l			
Glide					y		

Table 2.4: Manange vowel phonemes (orthographic transcription)
Nasal vowels italicised

Front		Central		Back	
i	*in*			u	*un*
e	*en*			o	
		ʌ			
		a	*an*		

3 *The Manange noun phrase*

In this chapter, I describe the morphosyntax of Manange noun phrase (NP) elements. In §3.1–3.5, I describe the elements of the NP, including categories of nouns, pronouns, number marking, numerals, and modifiers (adjectives), respectively. In §3.6 I discuss the casemarking system in Manange. Section 3.7 is concerned with definiteness and indefiniteness. In §3.8 I discuss word order within the noun phrase.

3.1 Nouns

3.1.1 Monomorphemic nouns

Examples of some monomorphemic nouns are found in (3.1):

(3.1)	*1phi*	'*chang* (homemade beer)'
	1thaŋ	'floor'
	2u	'cave'
	2ʈu	'sweat/perspiration'
	3ce	'tea'
	4khyor	'copper'

Manange nouns are not marked for grammatical gender, nor is there evidence of any other kind of semantic classification system (such as animate/inanimate). Manange nouns also do not show evidence of being marked for biological gender. I have seen one exception to this, with the noun *3sro* 'friend.' A female friend can be called *3sromʌ*, and a male friend can be called *3sropʌ*. Otherwise, biological gender in humans and animals is represented by different lexical items, as (3.2) shows:

(3.2)	*àle*	'boy'
	àŋye	'girl'
	2phyuŋla	'younger man'[1]
	1mriŋ	'younger woman'
	kyo̍kro	'elderly man'
	khu̍yu	'elderly woman'

[1] This is a compound of *2phyuŋ* 'male human' and *kòla* 'child.' A common variant is monosyllabic *2phyuŋ*. The word for 'younger woman' is also commonly pronounced *mrìŋla*.

náka 'hen'
náka phāle 'rooster' (*phāle* is a Nepali loan)

3pri 'mare'
2tʌ phōrtʌ 'stallion'

In addition, the words for 'widow' and 'widower' in Manange are represented at a more clausal or derived level, interpreted literally as 'husband is not/wife is not' as shown in example (3.3):

(3.3) *1phʌ* *1a-re-pʌ*
husband NEG-COP-NOM
'widow' (lit. 'one who does not have a husband')

1mriŋ *1a-re-pʌ* **or** *3pye 1a-re-pʌ*
woman NEG-COP-NOM
'widower' (lit. 'one who does not have a wife')

3.1.2 Compound nouns

Compound nouns are formed by the juxtaposition of two independent morphemes. Manange compounds appear to be right-headed in modification, as shown in example (3.4):

(3.4)	*phêmwi*	(*2phe* 'metal' + *4mwi* 'money')	'coin'
	mèshʌ	(*4me* 'cow' + 1*shʌ* 'flesh')	'beef'
	kyèphra	(*kʌ̀ru* 'barley' + *4phra* 'flour')	'buckwheat'
	shíŋtuŋ	(*2shiŋ* 'wood' + *2tuŋ* 'grove')	'tree, general'

In these examples, the left element further defines the right element. Silver money is a coin, and cow flesh is beef, and so on.

Manange nouns can also form compounds with property concepts (including both simple adjectives and verb-like adjectives), as (3.5) shows:

(3.5)	*mîʈi*	(*3mi* 'person' + *1ʈi* 'wild')	'gorilla'
	àpthyʌpʌ	(*àpʌ* 'father' + *1thyʌ-pʌ* 'big-NOM')	'father's older brother/ uncle'

In both cases, the modification direction is uncertain. A gorilla could be seen as a kind of person, in which case the compound is left headed. Uncle however is not a kind of father, but rather the older brother from the father's side.

Noun-verb compounds are also found in Manange, as shown in (3.6):

(3.6)	*yàshu*	(*1ya* 'hand' + *2shu* 'cover')	'glove'
	kyèlu	(*kye* 'voice/language' + *1lo* 'translate/teach')	'recording'

Often in Manange when verbs are nominalised, the *-pʌ* nominalising morpheme is present. However in the examples above, the nominaliser is not present, suggesting fuller lexicalisation for the two words. For more discussion on *-pʌ* refer to §4.1.

In both examples in (3.6), the modification direction is uncertain, suggesting these are more fully lexicalised than other compounds in the language.

There are a number of disyllabic noun stems that I suspect might be old compounds. One of these words is *nyùkyu* 'dog.' Some informants tell me they think that this word is a combination of *1nʌ* 'nose' and *2kyu* 'water.' This might be an old combination of 'water/wet-nose,' which nicely describes the state of a dog's nose! Consultants do not see the meaning this way, however. Another suspected (although not confirmable) older compound includes *chùku* 'cooking oil' (*1chi* 'lard' + *2kyu* 'water'). A third suspected old compound is *nâhuŋ* 'forest, jungle', where the individual morphemes are *3na* 'forest' and *2tuŋ* or *2huŋ* 'copse/grove.' The issue of word formation in Manange is extremely interesting to me, and I will continue to investigate it in light of my ongoing tonal analysis.

3.1.3 Derived nouns

There is some evidence for nouns that are derived from verbs or verb-like adjectives in Manange. Examples are provided below:

(3.7) a. *1kyo-pʌ*
mourn-NOM
'lungs' (place from which mourning/melancholy comes)

b. *4phol-pʌ*
roll-NOM
'frog' (one who rolls/jumps in a rolling fashion)

c. *2nʌ-pʌ*
sick-NOM
'sickness/disease'

In each case, the nominaliser *-pʌ* appears on the derived noun. In most cases however, nominalised verbs or verb-like adjectives cannot occur as heads of a NP. Even though consultants tell me that *2nʌ-pʌ* can mean 'sick one,' in sentence contexts, I hear *3mi 2nʌ-pʌ* 'the sick person.' In elicitation I have heard *1se-pʌ* 'kill-NOM' for 'murderer,' but I have also heard *1se- pʌ 3mi* 'kill-NOM person' for 'murderer' in connected speech. The same is true for *1shi-pʌ* 'die-NOM.' In connected speech, 'dead man/person' is *1shi- pʌ 3mi*. Most of the disyllabic *-pʌ* nouns are unanalyzeable to most Mananges. There may be a few derived time nouns where the second syllable is either continuous or clause-chaining *-tse*, such as *mûntse* 'night time' and *nêse* 'tomorow,' but this is speculation only.

3.2 Pronominal paradigms

3.2.1 Personal pronouns

The Manange personal pronouns, categorised by person and by case marking, are shown in examples (3.8-3.10).

(3.8) First Person

	Singular	Plural
ABS	*1ŋʌ*	*1ŋyaŋ ~ 1ŋyʌŋ*
ERG	*1ŋʌtse*	*1ŋyaŋtse*
DAT	*1ŋʌri*	*1ŋyaŋri*
GEN	*1ŋʌlʌ*	*1ŋyaŋlʌ*

(3.9) Second Person

	Singular	Plural
ABS	*3kyʌ*	*1kimi*
ERG	*3kyʌtse*	*1kimtse*
DAT	*3kyʌri*	*1kimri*
GEN	*3kyʌlʌ*	*1kimlʌ*

(3.10) Third Person

	Singular	Plural
ABS	*1khi*	*1khimi*
ERG	*1khitse*	*1khimtse*
DAT	*1khiri*	*1khimri*
GEN	*1khilʌ*	*1khimlʌ*

My primary consultant says that there is no lexicalised way of expressing plural inclusive versus exclusive. For her, a sense of 'inclusiveness' is expressed by the addition of the quantifier *tshá?raŋ* 'all/every' to the plural pronouns. The resulting meaning is akin to English 'we all; you all; they all.' My secondary consultant however provides a first person plural inclusive versus an exclusive distinction, shown in (3.11):

(3.11) First Person Plural

Inclusive	Exclusive
1ŋyaŋ	*1ŋi*

Not only does *1ŋi* convey a general sense of exclusivity (us from you), but it is also used when the first person referents are all family members, as in (3.12):

(3.12) *1ŋi* *1yʌ-pʌ*
1(PL.EXCL) go-NOM
'We are going.'

Like the other Manange pronouns, *1ŋi* inflects for case, as is shown in (3.13 a-b):

(3.13) a. Dative

1ŋi=ɑi *1piŋ-ko*
1(PL.EXCL)=LOC give-IMP
'Give it to us!'

b. Ergative

1ŋi=tse *11ʌ-tsi*
1(PL.EXCL)=ERG do-PERF
'We did it (and not you).'

With the genitive case, there is some morphophonemic alternation. Instead of the *=lʌ* genitive marker, my consultant prefers *1ŋye*, as shown in (3.14):

(3.14) a. *2tsu=ko* *1ŋye* *4thin*
PROX=DEF 1(PL.EXCL.GEN) house
'This is our house.'

Note however that *1ŋi-lʌ* is also acceptable to my secondary consultant. My primary consultant on the other hand does not recognise or use *1ŋi*, but rather uses *1ŋyaŋ* only.

Another interpretation of the first person exclusive pronoun is that it is actually a pronominal function of the numeral *4ŋi* 'two.' Another Manange consultant says that an explanation of this comes from the following example:

(3.14) b. *1ŋyaŋ* ***4ŋi*** *1yʌ-pʌ//* *4shi* *1a-yʌ//*
1(PL) **two** go-NOM// one NEG-go//
'We two are going; you're not going.'

In this case, it may be that the numeral has been reanalyzed by some speakers into the exclusive pronoun itself, and does not co-occur with the first person plural pronoun *1ŋyaŋ*.

3.2.2 Demonstratives

Manange has two demonstrative pronouns with different deictic meanings. They are shown in (3.15):

(3.15) *2tsu* 'PROXIMAL/this'
1u 'DISTAL/that'

These pronouns undergo vowel harmony when they occur with the definite clitic *=ko*, as (3.16) shows:

(3.16) [tsó=ko] 'this (definite)'
[ò=ko] 'that (definite)'

When these pronouns occur with the locative case clitic *=ri*, they imply deictic directionality, as in (3.17):

(3.17) a. *2tsu=ri* *1kho*
PROX=LOC come.IMP
'Come here!'

b. *1khi=lʌ* *4che=ko* *1u=ri* *1mo* *1mu*
3(SG)=GEN book=DEF DIST=LOC COP EVID
'There is her book/her book is there'

My other consultant provides an example of an extreme distal demonstrative, which is shown in (3.18):

(3.18) *tà̀sʌ=ri*
over.there=LOC
'way over there'

He provides an elicited sentence in which it is used:

(3.19) *à̀ŋye=ko* *tà̀sʌ* *1kyen=ko=ri* *1yʌ-tse* *1mo* *1mu*
woman=DEF over.there field=DEF=LOC go-CONT COP EVID
'The woman is walking out to those fields way over there.'

My consultant Eden does not recognise or use this form.

3.2.3 Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns for Manange are provided in example (3.20):

(3.20)	*1ta*		'what'
	há-lo-ko		'which'
	hánǐ(=ri)	('where'(=LOC))	'where'
	sú		'who'
	sú=ri	('who' + LOC)	'whom'
	sú=lʌ	('who' + GEN)	'whose'
	há-tsu		'how manner'
	há-cuŋ		'how state'
	há-yuŋ	(how + ASSOC)	'when'
	2phuŋ kʌ́tti	(egg + Nepali Loan)	'how many'[2]
	1ta 3pi-tse	(*ta* 'what' + 2*pi-tse* 'say-CC')	'why'

As shown in (3.20) above, the locative clitic *=ri* is optional for 'where.' Roughly, *há* means 'how,' and is likely a loan from Nepali.

3.3 Number

Manange nouns can optionally inflect for number. There is no separate marker for dual number. Plurality is marked with the clitic *=tse*. (3.21) shows examples of this:

---

[2] The act of counting for some Mananges is done with the word *2phuŋ* 'egg.' They say that eggs represent small, countable items. This countability aspect seems to have been incorporated into the phrase 'how many.'

(3.21) *1ya=tse* 'hands/arms'
4thin=tse 'houses'
àtʌ=tse 'older brothers'

I treat the plural marker as a clitic for two reasons. First, my consultant treats the plural morpheme as bound in that she does not consider it to be a separate word, but rather treats it as 'attached' to the noun. Second, I argue that *=tse* is a clitic because although it is bound, like a suffix, it can actually follow either the lexical noun, or a numeral, or a property concept, marking plurality in each case. Examples of this are found in (3.22 a-c):

(3.22) a. Plural Following Lexical Noun
4ŋi ***nòkor=tse***
two **cat=PL**
'two cats'

b. Plural Following Numeral
nòkor ***4ŋi=tse***
cat **two=PL**
'two cats'

c. Plural Following Simple Adjective
4ŋi *nòkor* ***tʌ̀rkya=tse***
two cat **white=PL**
'two white cats'

These examples suggest that the scope of *=tse* is phrasal, cliticising to the final element of the NP, and with scope extending over the entire NP. On a related note, examples (3.22 a-c) also suggest word order variation within the noun phrase (e.g. in example a, the numeral precedes the noun and in example b the numeral follows the noun). For more discussion on word order patterns in the Manange NP, see §3.8.

Certain mass nouns such as *1tsʌ* 'nerves' do not inflect for plurality. However not all mass nouns fail to show marking for plurality. For example, in the plural ***kɔ̄lâ*** 'clothes/fabric' can also optionally appear as ***kɔ̄lâ=tse***. When pluralised, the meaning of ***kɔ̄lâ*** is unclear, meaning different things to different consultants. For example, ***kɔ̄lâ =tse*** can mean many items of clothing to my primary consultant, and can mean multiple fabrics to another speaker.

Other mass nouns that do not take the plural marker are listed in (3.23):

(3.23) *kúruŋ* 'intestines'
pyúmʌ 'sand'
1sʌ 'dirt'
4khwe 'honey'

The plural marker is optional when numerals are also present. Example (3.24) shows plural nouns with no plural marking:

(3.24) *2sen* *mlə̀nkyʌ* *nyùkyu=tse* *4ŋi* *nə̀kor=LOC* *1che-tsi*
three black dog=ERG **two** cat=LOC bite-PERF
'Three black dogs bit two cats.'

The plural marker is homophonous with the ergative casemarker *=tse*; however my consultants are quite clear that there is a difference between these two morphemes and that they are not the same. In elicited constructions, my consultant Eden does not accept a construction such as (3.25):

(3.25) * ***nyùkyu=tse=tse*** *1ŋʌ=ri* *1che-tsi*
dog=PL=ERG 1(SG)=LOC bite-PERF
'The dogs bit me.'

Here, both the plural marker and the ergative marker are present on the A argument. My consultant says that this sounds strange and that a numeral is more often used to mark plurality. In her opinion, a construction such as in (3.26) sounds more appropriate:

(3.26) *2sen* *nyùkyu=tse* *3ŋʌ=ri* *1che-tsi*
three dog=ERG 1(SG)=LOC bite-PERF
'Three dogs bit me.'

In (3.26), only the ergative casemarker is present. Plurality in this example is marked by the presence of the numeral, which also identifies the number of dogs present.

Interestingly, my other older consultants appear to find it acceptable to use both the plural and the ergative marker, as this example, taken from a narrative, shows:

(3.27) *2kaŋ=ri* *1ʧu-pʌ* *3ya=tse=tse,*
hill=LOC stay-NOM **yak=ERG=PL**

1khi *mlaŋ.cha* *1mi.*
3 curse EVID
'The yaks who stayed on the hill cursed (them).' (YakBuff)[3]

In this example, both the ergative clitic and the plural clitic are present. My primary consultant assisted with the transcription of this story and says that she herself would not use both clitics. Whatever the difference may be between informants, the use of both the ergative and the plural clitics in connected or elicited speech is extremely rare.

3.4 Numerals and classifiers

3.4.1 Numerals

The Manange numbers for one through ten are given in example (3.28):

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[3] Clause and sentence examples taken from transcribed texts include Intonation Unit (I.U.) boundary symbols. Refer to Chapter 6 for more information on transcription conventions.

(3.28)

4shi	'one'
4ŋi	'two'
2sen	'three'
4phli	'four'
3ŋʌ	'five'
4ʧhu	'six'
1ŋi	'seven'
4phre	'eight'
1ku	'nine'
1cu	'ten'

It should be noted that 'seven' and 'two' do contrast acoustically. 'Seven' shows high and rising fundamental frequency (pitch) values, while 'two' shows lower and more level or slightly falling pitch values. The words for 'five,' 'six,' 'nine' and 'ten' appear to be cognate with Tibetan.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the voiceless alveo-palatal fricative /ʃ/ can alternate with the voiceless retroflex fricative /ʂ/ when in initial position for my primary consultant. As a result, my primary consultant pronounces 'one' as [ʃî], while my other consultants pronounce it as [ʂî].

Manange numerals operate under a decimal system, categorised in groups of ten. Numbers from ten to nineteen are formed off the base *1cu* 'ten,' as (3.29) shows:

(3.29)

cùkre	'eleven'
cùŋi	'twelve'
cùpsen	'thirteen'
cùphli	'fourteen'
còŋʌ	'fifteen'
cùʧhu	'sixteen'
cìŋi	'seventeen'
càphre	'eighteen'
cùku	'nineteen'

As seen in (3.29), interesting morphophonemic alternations arise. The bilabial obstruent *p* appears in 'thirteen,' suggesting a historical consonant cluster pattern of **ps*.

The *u* ~ *o* alternation for 'fifteen' suggests a morphophonemic vowel alternation where *u* lowers to *o* when before a non-high vowel such as /ʌ/.

The numbers for twenty through ninety are shown in (3.30):

(3.30)

ŋîshu	'twenty'
sûmcu	'thirty'
phlîcu	'forty'
ŋʌ̀cu	'fifty'
ʧhûkcu	'sixty'
ŋîcu	'seventy'
phrêcu	'eighty'
kùcu	'ninety'

In 'thirty,' the affricate becomes voiced following the voiced bilabial nasal, resulting in the phonetic transcription of:

(3.31) [sûmdʒu] 'thirty'

In addition, the presence of *k* in 'sixty' suggests the historical presence of either a coda *k*, or a complex onset like **kc*. Higher numerals are included in the glossary.

3.4.2 Classifiers

To date, my younger consultant Eden uses only one morpheme that could be called a classifier. She is not able to describe its specific function and she says its presence is optional. She is best able to describe it by comparing it to the Nepali classifier *-ʈaa*, which is used with non-human nouns. Examples of it are shown in (3.32):

(3.32) a. *4ŋi-ŋtha* *kòlâ*[4]
two-CLASS child
'two children'

b. *4shi-ŋtha* *pʌ̂le*
one-CLASS leg
'one leg'

When my consultant produces the classifier in isolation, it sounds like:

(3.33) [tʰa]

However, when it is attached to a number (and all Manange numbers are CV in syllable structure), the velar nasal /ŋ/ appears. Because the velar nasal never appears with numerals in other environments (e.g. before lexical nouns or before casemarking clitics), this suggests that *ŋ* is a historical C1 onset on the classifier that only appears in bound environments.

Manange *-tha* may be borrowed from the Nepali inanimate classifier *-ʈaa*; however this is the only classifier in the language, occurring on both animate and inanimate arguments, and so it does not share the same distributional patterning that the inanimate classifier in Nepali has.

3.5 Adjectives

Manange has two classes of adjectives: simple adjectives and verb-like adjectives (for a detailed discussion of the semantic properties of these two classes, refer to Genetti and Hildebrandt, forthcoming). The class of simple adjectives is small and closed, with under thirty attested members. This class includes colour words, as well as some words in the semantic classes of SPEED, QUANTIFICATION, AGE, DIMENSION, POSITION, VALUE, and PHYSICAL PROPERTY. In contrast, the class of verb-like adjectives is large and open, with at

[4] Other informants prefer noun-numeral ordering.

least fifty attested members, and includes members in the semantic classes of AGE, DIMENSION, POSITION, PHYSICAL PROPERTY, and HUMAN PROPENSITY. I will first describe simple adjectives in more detail, contrasting them from both nouns, which they resemble structurally in some ways, and verb-like adjectives. I then turn to verb-like adjectives, contrasting them with simple verbs, which they resemble structurally in some ways, and simple adjectives. I end this section with a description of property concepts conveyed through an analytic or phrasal structure. It should be noted that §3.5 includes a great deal of discussion of verbal morphosyntax, as well as some discussion of clause combining strategies. The Manange verbal complex is described in greater detail in Chapter 4, and clause combining is covered in Chapter 5.

3.5.1 Simple Adjectives

A list of the known simple adjectives is provided in (3.34):

(3.34)		
	ò̀lkya	'red'
	mlè̀nkya	'black'
	tʌ̀rkya	'white'
	pì̀ŋkya	'blue'
	ù̀rkya	'yellow'
	câŋku	'green'
	myêphra 2tshe	'grey' (lit. 'ash.powder colour')
	mûkpʌ	'brown'
	alo suntāla	'orange' (lit. 'potato orange')
	kíni	'fast'
	kôle	'slow'
	kʌ́tti	'many/too many'
	khyôkro	'old animates'[5]
	kâthe	'thin'
	sítʌri	'free/no charge'
	ŋótô	'true/honest'
	phôltoŋ	'round'
	plísur	'square'
	kúrkur	'crooked'
	3ye	'steep'
	3naŋ	'full'
	1thaŋ	'flat'
	1then	'empty'
	móna	'dark'
	khà̀rkyʌ	'dry'
	2khuŋ	'hollow'
	shîlki	'bald'

As was discussed in Chapter 2, most lexical items in Manange have a simple phonotactic structure of C(C)V(C). Onset consonants may be either unvoiced obstruents or sonorants. The C2 onset position is restricted to the small set of sonorant consonants: /ŋ, l,

[5] I have also heard this *without* initial aspiration, as in [kjô.kro].

r, y/. The coda position is even more restricted to final /ŋ, l, r/, with /r/ and /l/ occurring infrequently. Disyllabic monomorphemic roots are infrequent in Manange, and many di- and trisyllabic words are suspected to be the result of lexicalisation of old compounds. Furthermore, the word-medial consonants of disyllabic stems are restricted: aspirated stops and coronals are rare in this position (A handful of nouns do have medial coronals, such as *ʈʌ̄ʈi* 'toilet,' *púci* 'knee,' *kàrti* 'knife,' and *mʌ̂nce* 'lips,' but word-medial coronals and aspirated obstruents are not found in Manange verbs or verb-like adjectives).

Simple adjectives often do not conform to this template. Many simple adjectives are di- or trisyllabic, e.g. *sítʌri* 'free,' and word-medial coronal consonants are common in these forms, e.g. *ŋóto̍* 'true', *phôltoŋ* 'round' and *plîsur* 'square'; medial aspirated stops are also found, e.g. *kâthe* 'thin'. Thus simple adjectives have fewer constraints on their phonotactic structure than do many nouns, verbs and verb-like adjectives.

Like nouns, simple adjectives do not inflect with either derivational or inflectional morphology. Also like nouns, simple adjectives may be hosts to clitics in underived form when they are the final element in the NP (see §3.6 for further description of case clitics and §3.7 for a description of definiteness clitics). Example (3.35) illustrates definiteness and case elements cliticising to a noun that is final in the NP, while (3.36) illustrates the same morphemes cliticising to an adjective:

(3.35) *4khwe* *nápraŋ* **phùte=ko=tse,**
honey fly **swarm=DEF=ERG**

nyùkyu=ko=ri *3pyu-pʌ* *ro?*
dog=DEF=LOC chase-NOM REP
'The swarm of honey bees chased the dog.' (Boy Dog Frog)

(3.36) *nyùkyu* **khyôkro=ko=tse** *àle=ri* *3pyu-tsi*
dog **old=DEF=ERG** boy=PAT chase-PERF
'The old dog chased the boy.'

There are no derivational affixes to be found on adjectives (or nouns), such as comparatives, superlatives, or intensifiers, as these functions are all conveyed with periphrastic structures (see 3.5.3). Neither is there any morphology that converts simple adjectives into adverbs or any other lexical class. For example, the simple adjectives *kôle* 'slow' and *kíni* 'quick' may be used adverbially, but require no derivational morphology to do so:

(3.37) *nyùkyu=ko* **kôle.kôle,**
dog=DEF slow.slow

2shiŋ *2tuŋ* *4hri=ko=ri,*
wood tree one=DEF=LOC

2shiŋ *2tuŋ=ko=ri,*
wood ree=DEF=LOC

3ŋyo-pʌ-ni,
look-NOM-ADV
'The dog, after looking slowly/carefully (like peeking) into one tree, into the tree, (said 'he isn't in here).' (Boy Dog Frog)

(3.38) **'kíni** *1yʌ-ro.*
'quick go-IMPER

1ŋʌ=lʌ *kʌ̀rti=ko,*
1(SG)=GEN knife=DEF

2shiŋ *2tuŋ* *ti=ri* *1mo-pʌ* *ko',*
wood tree near=LOC be-NOM EVID
'"Go quickly," (he said), "my knife must be near the tree".' (Raji)

Simple adjectives are morphologically distinct from the classes of verbs and verb-like adjectives, as they are never affixed with verbal morphology, such as the negative *a-*, the nominaliser *-pʌ*, or the perfective *-tsi* (see §3.5.2).

Simple adjectives with an attributive function (i.e. modifying a head noun in a NP) obligatorily follow a noun.[6] Unlike nouns, simple adjectives may not be heads of noun phrases. Thus, in examples (3.39-3.41), the nouns *4khye* 'road,' *pûkri* 'snake,' and *khūpʌ* 'pot' are obligatory, and may not be unexpressed.

(3.39) *4khye* **tʌ̀rkya=ri,**
road **white=LOC**

1ŋʌ *3por* *1yʌ* *1mo,*
1(SG) take go COP
'I take (the prayer scarf) on the white road (to heaven).' (Cremations)

(3.40) **tʌ̀rkya** **mlè̀nkya** *pûkri=ri* *1mraŋ* *1mi* *1ro,*
white **black** snake=INDEF see EVID REP
'She saw a black and white snake.' (Raji)

(3.41) *khūpʌ* **phôltoŋ** *3naŋ=ri=ko* *2tso=ko,*
pot **round** inside=LOC=DEF PROX=DEF

1u=tse=tʌr=ri,
DIST=PL=ABL=LOC

tʌr=ro?
ABL=LOC (repair)

---

[6] Eden prefers pre-nominal ordering for all adjectives and relative clauses. This is markedly different than the preferred order for other speakers.

pārtʌ=tʌr *4shul=tse,*
pot=ABL drop=PL,

<VOX *4phul* VOX>,
<VOX drip VOX>,

<VOX *4phul* VOX>,
<VOX drip VOX>,

4phul *1lʌ* *3yu* *ko,*
drip do go.down EVID
'From inside of that round pot, that pot, water drips, drip drip, like this, coming down...' (Making Raksi)

Verbs may also modify nouns in a NP, but they do so in the form of a prenominal relative clause. More will be said about this in §3.5.2, and also in Chapter 5.

Simple adjectives with a predicative function occur in the copula complement slot, and are obligatorily followed by the copula *1mo*. Thus the sentence in (3.42) has the structure represented in (3.42b), where CC indicates 'copula complement':

(3.42) a. *phôlpʌ,*
frog

3taŋ=ko:,
pot=DEF

1then *1mo* *1mu.*
empty COP EVID
'The frog pot was empty' (Boy Dog Frog)

b. [*phôlpʌ* *3taŋ=ko*]S [*1then*] CC [*1mo 1mu*]COP

This structure is syntactically identical to that of equational constructions, where the copula complement slot is filled by a noun, as in (3.43):

(3.43) [*2tso=ko*]s [*2mi*]cc [*1mo*]PRED
PROX=DEF eye COP
'It is an eye.'

Both the equational and the predicative adjective constructions have the structure: S CC COP, where CC is a copula complement (see Dixon 2001).[7]

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[7] Dixon (2001) recognises a clause type in addition to intransitive and transitive: copular clause. A copular clause has a predicate (the copula) and two core argument slots: S and copula complement (CC). For Manange, this recognition is useful in describing the morphosyntactic structure of predicative simple adjectives, and comparing this with equational copula clauses. This is also useful for contrasting predicative simple adjectives and verb-like adjectives from imperfective verbal complexes.

To convey entrance into a state, both adjectives and nouns appear as complements of the copula *1tʌ* 'become', rather than as complements of the copula *1mo*. Such sentences with *1tʌ* are structurally identical to those with the copula *1mo*, including as arguments an S and a complement. Predicative examples with *1tʌ* are given in (3.44 and 3.45):

(3.44) With adjective

[*1khi*]	[*kâthe*]cc	[*1tʌ-pʌ*]PRED
3sg	[thin]	**[become-NOM]**

'He is (still) becoming thin.'

(3.45) With noun

[*2kyu2tso=ko*]S	[*2thi*]cc	[*1tʌ-tsi*]PRED
water PROX=DEF	[lake]	**[become-PERF]**

'This water became a lake.' (Avalanche!)

To negate a copula clause with *1mo*, whether the complement slot is filled by a simple adjective or a noun, the suppletive negative copula *1a-re* is used in place of (or in conjunction with) *1mo*:

(3.46) With adjective

1u	*nyûkyū=ko*	*mlènkya*	**1a-re**	**(1mo)**
DIST	dog=DEF	black	NEG-COP	COP

'That dog is not black.'

(3.47) With noun

1u	*tōrê*	**1a-re**	*1mo*.
DIST	graveyard	**NEG-COP**	1COP

'it (that piece of land) wasn't a graveyard (at the time of the avalanche)' (Avalanche!)

To negate predicative adjective clauses or equational clauses with *1tʌ* 'become', the negative morpheme prefixes to the verb:

(3.48) With adjective

múntse=ri	*4thin=ko*	*móna*	*1a-tʌ-tsi*
night=LOC	house=DEF	dark	NEG-become-PERF

'At night, the house did not become dark.'

(3.49) With noun

1u	*tōrê*	*1a-tʌ-tsi*
DIST	graveyard	NEG-become-PERF

'It did not become a graveyard.'

It is possible to omit the copula in constructions with both nominal and adjectival copula complement constructions:

(3.50) *2tso=ko* *2mi*
PROX=DEF eye
'This is an eye.'

(3.51) *4thin=ko* *cáŋku*
house=DEF green
'The house is green.'

This happens more frequently in elicited contexts than in connected speech, which may be in part due to the way new information is presented, or the way that given information is modified in Manange narratives. An example is given in (3.52), which is a description by a Manange woman of Nar (a Nepal ethnic group) clothing:

(3.52) *2phi=ko* *pìŋkya,* *3naŋ=ko=ri* *òlkya,*
top=DEF blue, inside=DEF=LOC red
'The top of (it was) blue, the inside part (was) red.' (Life Story)

One possible structural analysis of the examples above (lacking a copula) is to say that in equational clauses the NP's exist in apposition. However, one wishes the analysis of an example like (3.52) above to reflect the symmetry of structure in Manange between the equational and predicative adjective cases. Simple adjectives in Manange are distinct from nouns, and so an analysis of two NP's in apposition does not reflect that distinctiveness.

One possible structural analysis of examples such as (3.50 and 3.51), those which consist of an NP and a simple adjective only, would be to assume that in the absence of the copula, the adjective takes on the role of the intransitive predicate, and the structure simplifies from a clause with two core arguments (S, CC) preceding a copula, to one with only one core argument (S), as represented in (3.53):

(3.53) [*2phi=ko*]$_S$ [*pìŋkya*]$_{\text{INTRANSITIVE PREDICATE}}$
top=DEF blue
'The top of (it was) blue.'

However, simple adjectives in Manange are distinct from predicates. Not only does the simple adjective lack verbal morphology, it also cannot be followed by evidentials.

(3.54) **1u* *pìŋkya* ***1mi***
3(SG) blue **EVID.PERF**
'It was blue (I think).'

An alternative approach is to analyze the structure of predicative simple adjectives (and also of copula-less equationals) simply as lacking a predicate, and consisting of an S and a copula complement:

(3.55) [*2phi=ko*]$_S$ [*pìŋkya*]$_{\text{COPULA COMPLEMENT}}$
top=DEF blue

This may seem like an odd analysis, since there is the complement of an unexpressed copula, but there is actually no resulting structural or functional ambiguity. Consider the fact that the only position for a simple adjective outside of a noun phrase is the copula complement slot. Thus when a speaker produces a noun phrase followed by a simple adjective, he or she is invoking the copular structure, signaling to the hearer to assign the simple adjective to the copula complement slot. Once this is done, the copula, being empty semantically, provides no additional information that is needed to understand either the structure or the meaning of the clause. If the speaker needs to convey additional information in the predicate, such as evidentiality, negation, modality, or perfectivity, then the copula must be present as the 'magnet' for these categories. This is why the verb *1tʌ* 'become', which also participates in structures with copula complements, cannot be unexpressed; it conveys the additional aspectual information of entrance into a state.

The same kind of argument may be made for nouns. That is, rather than assuming that the sentence *1ŋʌ àmtsi* 'I am a doctor' consists of two NP's in apposition, the symmetry between the equational and the predicative adjective structures can be maintained if the NP's are analyzed as filling two separate syntactic slots, the first being the S, and the second the copula complement. This analysis also has an ancillary benefit of restricting the notion of apposition so that it holds only between two adjacent, coreferential NP's that have the same syntactic status in a clause (both are either A, S, O, or CC).

Manange has an intensifier *2pe?*, which directly precedes simple adjectives. Consultants use *2pe?* in translations of 'very' in elicitation, as in (3.56 and 3.57), but in connected speech it more commonly indicates excess and so translates well into English with 'too':

(3.56) *botʃʌl* *2pe?* *1then* *1mo* *1mu*
bottle **very** **empty** COP EVID
'The bottle is quite empty.'

(3.57) *4thin=ri* *2pe?* **mǒna** *1mo* *1mu*
house=LOC **very** **dark** COP EVID
'It's too dark in the house.'

The intensifier *2pe?* occurs in both attributive and predicative contexts:

(3.58) a. *3mi* *2pe?* *kâthe=ko* *1tsʌ* *3yaŋ*
person **very** thin=DEF eat DEONTIC
'The really thin person should eat.'

b. *3mi* *2pe?* *kâthe* *1mo* *1mu*
person **very** thin COP EVID
'The person is very/too thin.'

The intensifier occurs with all of the major lexical classes, in Manange including nouns (as in *2pe? 4mwi* 'quite a bit of money'), verbs (as in *2pe? 2kyu-tse* 'really running') and both types of adjective classes. Thus, its use with simple adjectives is not a distinguishing feature of this class.

In summary, while simple adjectives and nouns do share some phonological and morphosyntactic features (e.g. there are a limited number of both disyllabic nouns and

simple adjectives, simple adjectives and nouns may occur in underived form in the NP, they may host the full range of nominal clitics, they both may be preceded by the intensifier *2peʔ* and they both occupy the copula complement position in predicative functions), simple adjectives are distinct from nouns in that they do not occur as heads of the NP.

Likewise, simple adjectives do not inflect for aspectual and/or evidential distinctions or for negation, as verbs and verb-like adjectives do. It is through these subtle morphosyntactic distinctions where evidence for a class of simple adjectives can be more abundantly found.

3.5.2 Verb-like Adjectives

Verb-like adjectives are much larger in membership than are simple adjectives. A partial list is included here:

(3.59)	*2seen*	'young'
	1ŋiin	'old objects'
	1caan	'new/small'
	3ta~tʌŋ	'ancient'
	2sruŋ	'brief/short'
	2mre	'fat animates'
	1thyʌ	'big'
	3ruŋ	'long'
	2sruŋ	'wide/fluffy'
	2thuŋ	'wide/thick/solid'
	2phrʌ	'thin/fine/strand-like or particulate'
	2kuun	'expensive'
	2khe	'cheap'
	3kyoŋ	'hard'
	3ceen	'soft'
	1ŋye	'melodious'
	4sol	'clear, bright, sparkling'
	4khor	'bent'
	2miin	'ripe'
	2kyuŋ	'sour'
	1kyeen~1keen	'bitter'
	2tsha	'spicy'
	3pla	'cold liquids'
	2khaŋ	'cold climate'
	1le	'warm/hot liquids'
	4tshe	'hot climate'
	2coŋ~cócoŋ	'same, similar'

Verb-like adjectives show the same phonological behaviour of the lexical classes of nouns and verbs. They conform to the CCVC syllable template, and the constraints on which segments may occupy C-slots. Verb-like adjectives are found in all four tone categories.

Verb-like adjectives function attributively and predicatively. When functioning in attributive contexts, they may take the full range of noun-phrase enclitics, providing they are affixed with the nominaliser *-pʌ* and are the last element in the NP. [8] When modifying a noun within an NP, attributive verb-like adjectives always follow the noun:[9]

(3.60) *nʌ̀kyu* *1thyʌ-pʌ=tse* *nó̀kor* *1cam-pʌ=ri* *3pyu-tsi*
dog **big=NOM=ERG** cat **small-NOM=LOC** chase-PERF
'The big dog chased the small cat.'

(3.61) *mî̀phra=ko* *1ŋyʌŋ* *2tsu,*
ash=DEF 1(PL) PROX

3pwal *3naŋ=ri,*
city inside=LOC

2kyu *1thyʌ-pʌ=ri* *1then* *1tʌ-tsi,*
water **big-NOM=LOC** throw become-PERF
'In Kathmandu, the (cremated) ashes get thrown in big water (like a river).' (Cremations)

(3.62) *4shi=ko* *ah,*
one=DEF ah

móme=ko,
family=DEF

1thyʌ-pʌ *4thin=ri* *1ʈu* *1mo* *1ro,*
big-NOM **house=LOC** live COP REP
'One of them, the family, was living in a big house.' (Raji)

This behaviour is distinct from that of other verbs, like *3ŋwo* 'fry' and *1ʈu* 'stay,' which may only function attributively in pre-nominal relative clauses:

(3.63) *3ŋwo-pʌ* *1shʌ* *1tsʌ-tsi*
fry-NOM meat eat-PERF
'I ate the fried meat.'

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[8] There are four verb-like adjectives that may drop the nominaliser in both attributive and predicative contexts (consultants consider the forms with the nominaliser to be 'better' grammatically, but the forms that lack the nominaliser are much more frequent in all contexts). These are: *3nʌ* 'sick', *3sʌ* 'tasty', *1le* 'warm', and *3pla* 'cold'. All four occur with high frequency in Manange. The lack of the nominaliser gives these forms the appearance of simple adjectives; these words might be in the process of shifting lexical class.

[9] Again, note the pre-nominal ordering for one speaker (3.62) and the post-nominal ordering for other speakers.

(3.64) ***2kʌŋ=ri*** ***1ʧu-pʌ*** *3ya=tse=tse*,[10]
mountain=LOC **stay-NOM** yak=PL=ERG

1khi *mlaŋ.cha* *1mi*.
3(SG) curse EVID
'The yaks who stayed in the mountains, they cursed (their friends).' (YakBuff)

This difference in word ordering is not a trait which one can attribute strictly to the semantics of the verb-like adjectives; there is no reason why a non-adjectival verb should not follow a noun when functioning attributively, especially if the relative clause is 'light,' consisting exclusively of a verb and lacking arguments or adverbials (as in example 3.63). However, verbs are barred from this position. Instead, verb-like adjectives occupy the same noun phrase position as simple adjectives, which can be referred to more generally as the position for adjectives in the noun phrase.

When functioning predicatively, verb-like adjectives inflect with some, but not all, of the morphology associated with verbs. Verb-like adjectives occur in most environments with the nominaliser *-pʌ*. They also may inflect with the perfective *-tsi*, and they may also inflect with the clause-chaining suffix *-tse*, as in the following examples:

(3.65) Perfective marking
1khi ***1thyʌ-tsi***
3(SG) **big-PERF**
'He was big.'

(3.66) Clause chainer
2khʌŋ-tse *1lʌ-tse* *1ten,*
cold-CC do-CC then

2khʌŋ-tse ***2khʌŋ-tse*** *4a-thya-pʌ* *1lʌ-tse*
cold-CC **cold-CC** NEG-bear-NOM do-CC

1ten,
then,

póra *2coŋ-pʌ* *1tuŋ-tse* *1lʌ* *1ʧu-pʌ,*
bag similar-NOM cover-CC do stay-NOM
'Becoming cold, being very cold (the buffalo) cannot bear it, and covering in a (burlap) bag, they will continue to do this.' (YakBuff)

Verb-like adjectives do not occur with *-tso*, a modal suffix indicating speaker commitment to bring about a state of affairs (for more information on modality refer to Chapter 4). The fact that this suffix does not occur on verb-like adjectives may be attributable to the fact that most property concepts are not controllable, so a speaker may not easily commit to taking on that property. However, a semantic explanation is not available to explain the fact that verb-like adjectives do not occur with the adverbial

[10] Note the very rare instance of both ergative and plural marking on a noun. This double marking is generally dispreferred by Manange speakers.

subordinator-*ni* (adverbial subordination is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5). This morpheme, which suffixes to a nominalised verb stem, indicates an interpropositional relationship of sequentiality, such that the first event is completed before the onset of the second:

(3.67) *phôlpʌ* *3yaŋ-pʌ-ni,*
frog **get-NOM-ADV**

1khim *4ŋi* *phôlpʌ=ko* *3pu* *1khʌ-tsi,*
3(PL) two frog=DEF bring come-PERF
'After getting the frog, the two of them brought the frog (home).' (GBDF)

In a structure like this with a verb-like adjective, it is necessary to bring into the construction the verb *1tʌ* 'become':

(3.68) *pʌ́rtʌ* *2kyu=ko* ***1le*** ***1tʌ-pʌ-ni,*** *2te* *2laŋ-tse,*
pot water=DEF **warm** **become-NOM-ADV**, take lift-CC
'After the water pot becomes warm, I take it off.' (Making Raksi)

Verb-like adjectives also do not occur with *-ri*, the purposive suffix. Again, this may be attributed to the stative semantic nature of the class, and the concept of control that is implied by purposive action.

As shown above, verb-like adjectives in attributive functions are distinct from both nouns and simple adjectives in that they appear in derived form (with the suffix *-pʌ*). Verb-like adjectives in predicative functions share some structural similarities with other verbs, such as the ability to take perfective marking (*-tsi*) and the clause chaining suffix *-tse*. In this sense, verb-like adjectives are also distinct from nouns and simple adjectives, which do not take any verbal inflections. Verb-like adjectives differ from other verbs in that they do not take other verbal inflectional marking, such as the progressive suffix *-tse* or modality suffixes like *-tso* and *-pʌ*.[11]

One way in which verb-like adjectives and other verbs appear structurally identical is in how they mark general imperfective aspect:

(3.69) Verb-like adjective in general imperfective
4thin *3naŋ=ri* ***4sol-pʌ*** ***1mo***
house inside=LOC **bright-NOM** **COP**
'The house (inside) is bright.'

(3.70) Verb in general imperfective
1khi *3pwal=ri* ***1ʧu-pʌ*** ***1mo***
3(SG) country=LOC **stay-NOM** **COP**
'He lives in Kathmandu.'

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[11] In this case, verb-like adjectives do not inflect with *-pʌ* for future irrealis modality. As is shown in Chapter 4 the suffix *-pʌ* is multifunctional, and there are other contexts in which verb-like adjectives do in fact take this suffix.

As these examples show, both verb-like adjectives and verbs are suffixed with *-pʌ* and are followed by the copula *1mo*, with the resulting English present tense translation of 'is bright' or 'lives.' Given that both of these structures are marked identically, it would be easy to assume that imperfective verb-like adjectives and verbs are syntactically identical. However, there are two pieces of structural evidence that suggest that they are syntactically distinct.

One piece of evidence has to do with what elements in these structures are optional and what elements are not optional. In imperfective predicative verb-like adjective clauses, the copula *1mo* may be unexpressed, leaving just the S argument (*4thin* 'house' and the CC *4sol-pʌ* 'bright' in example 3.69). The nominaliser on the stem *4sol* may not be, however, optionally unexpressed. In contrast, the nominaliser in the imperfective intransitive clause (3.70) can optionally be unexpressed, while the copula *1mo* is obligatory, resulting in the variant:

(3.71) Verb in general imperfective

1khi	*3pwal=ri*	***1ʧu***	***1mo***
3(SG)	city=LOC	**stay**	**COP**

'He lives in Kathmandu.'

The difference in which elements are optional in the two structures suggest that for imperfective predicative verb-like adjective clauses, the syntactic structure is one of:

(3.72) [S] [CC] ([COP]PREDICATE)

The structure for intransitive clauses is different:

(3.73) [S] [verb(-pʌ) COP]PREDICATE

In intransitive clauses, the verb and the copula *1mo* are part of one larger verbal complex that constitutes the predicate position. In verb-like adjective clauses, the modifier occupies the copula complement position, while *1mo* alone occupies the predicate position. Thus, the two structures are syntactically distinct.

A second piece of evidence supporting the distinctiveness of these two structures is shown through negation strategies. When intransitive predicates are negated, the negative prefix *a-* attaches directly to the verb stem, as in:

(3.74) Intransitive predicate negated

1khi	*3pwal=ri*	***1a-ʧu-pʌ***	***1mo***
3(SG)	city=LOC	**NEG-stay-NOM**	**COP**

'He does not live in Kathmandu.'

In imperfective verb-like adjective clauses, the suppletive negative copula *1a-re* appears (with *1mo* optionally expressed):

(3.75) Verb-like adjective negated

4thin	*3naŋ=ri*	*4sol-pʌ*	*1a-re*	*1mo)*
house	inside=LOC	**bright-NOM**	**NEG-COP**	**(COP)**

'The house (inside) is bright.'

This difference in negation again points to the syntactic distinctiveness of the two structures, and again provides evidence for a class of verb-like adjectives that are separate from other verbs.

As is the case with simple adjectives, verb-like adjectives may also occur with the intensivier *2pe?*:

(3.76)

1khim	*4ŋi=ko*	**2peç**	*2che-pʌ*	*3sro*	*1ro,*
3(PL)	2=DEF	**very**	intimate-NOM	friend	REP

'The two of them were very close friends (so it was told).' (Boy Dog Frog)[12]

(3.77)

1khi	**2pe?**	*2kye-pʌ*	*1mo*	*1mu,*
3(SG)	**very**	pretty-NOM	COP	EVID

'(She thought) that he was very good-looking (in a story about a princess who spies a prince).' (Raji)

In example (3.76) *2pe?* modifies a verb-like adjective in an attributive function, while in (3.77) it modifies a verb-like adjective in a predicative function.

3.5.3 Comparatives and superlatives

Comparative constructions for both simple and verb-like adjectives are coded analytically with *3pi-le* 'say-COMPAR.' My consultants tell me that this comparative marker comes from the verb phrase *2ŋyo-tse 3pi-pʌ* 'to compare' (lit. 'look-CC say-NOM'). Currently, I do not know how to analyze the *-le* suffix beyond its function here, but in this context it provides a comparative frame.. Examples of a simple adjective and verb-like adjective in comparative constructions follow:

(3.78) Simple Adjective

1u	*nyùkyu=ko*	*2tsu*	*nyùkyu=ko*	*3pi-le*	**khyôkro**	*1mo*
DIST	dog=DEF	PROX	dog=DEF	**say-****	**old**	**COP**

'This dog is older than that dog.' (lit. 'Compared to that dog, this dog is old.')

(3.79) Verb-like Adjective

1u	*3mi=ko*	*2tsu*	*3mi=ko*	*3pi-le*	*2mre-pʌ*	*1mo*
DIST	person=DEF	PROX	person=DEF	**say-****	**fat-NOM**	**COP**

'This man is fatter than that man.' (lit. 'Compared to that man, this man is fat.')

Superlatives are formed with the identical structure as in the examples above, but with the addition of the word *tshá?raŋ* 'all/every'. Example (3.80) shows this:

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[12] Again, note the prenominal ordering of the adjective and the head in this example. This is a different ordering than other speakers use.

(3.80) *2tsu* *nyùkyu=ko* ***tshá?raŋ*** *3pi-le* ***khyôkro*** *1mo*
PROX dog=DEF **all/every** **say-**** **old** **COP**
'this dog is the oldest of all' (lit. 'compared to all dogs, this dog is old')

Note the similarities of these structures to Nepali comparative and superlative structures:

(3.81) a. Nepali Comparative
barb *kristin* ***bhandaa*** *choʈo* *cha*
Barb Kristine **say** short be
'Barb is shorter than Kristine.'
b. Nepali Superlative
barb ***sab*** ***bhandaa*** *choʈo* *cha*
Barb **all** **say** short be
'Barb is the shortest of all.'

3.5.4 Phrasal adjectives

Many property concepts in Manange are coded with analytic or phrasal adjectives. Some examples are shown here:

(3.82)

1tin 1thyʌ	'brave' [lit. heart + big]
1tin 1caan	'cowardly' [lit. heart + small]
3sup 1thyʌ	'healthy, strong' [lit. body + big]
3mi 1thyʌ	'famous' [lit. person + big]
àra 1mreen	'drunk' [lit. alcohol + full]
3ta 3ruŋ	'far' [lit. what + long]
2ki 2kye	'sweet (taste)' [lit. pretty + pretty]
kôle 1khʌ	'difficult, challenging' [lit. slow + come]
1le 1lʌ	'easy' [lit. warm + do]
3tuk 1tʌ	'difficult, arduous' [lit. Nepali *duk* 'pain' + become]
shîtaŋ 1khʌ	'angry' [lit. angry/chastise + come]

There is phonological evidence that some collocations, like *3tuk 1tʌ* 'difficult,' *shîtaŋ 1khʌ* 'angry', and *3sup 1thyʌ* 'strong', are not fully lexicalised, as each item carries its own distinctive pitch (and tone assignment). Other collocations, like *3ta 3ruŋ* 'far' carry identical tone on each lexical item, so tone is not a useful diagnostic to determine degree of lexicalisation.

I have also heard the following expressions from Manange speakers who have always lived in the villages of the Manang District (never in Kathmandu):

(3.83) a. *nyùkyu=lʌ* *3lo* *kʌ́tti* *1yʌ-tsi*
dog=GEN year many go-PERF
'The dog is/has become old.' (lit. 'the dog's many years have gone')

b. *4thin* *3naŋ=ri* *3mi* *1a-mraŋ* *1mo*
house inside=LOC person NEG-see COP
'The house is dark.' (lit. 'A person doesn't see in the house.')

3.6 Case marking

Example (3.84) shows the Manange case markers:

(3.84)

=tse	Ergative; Instrumental
=ri	General Locative; Allative; Dative
=lʌ	Genitive
=yuŋ	Comitative; Associative
=tʌr	Ablative
=ro	Ablative

Both my primary and my secondary consultant accept and use the *=tʌr* ablative marker and use it in both elicited and in narrative settings. However, I have four instances in elicited settings of *=ro* being used by my secondary consultant as an ablative case marker. One instance is provided in example (3.85):

(3.85)

3mi=ko	*3yul=ri*	*2kaŋ*	***4khya=ro***	*4phro-tsi*
person=DEF	village=LOC	mountain	**place=ABL**	walk-PERF

'The man walked down from the mountain to the village.'

I am currently unable to provide an analysis of the difference between choosing *=ro* or *=tʌr*. These locatives need further examination.

Evidence that these case markers are morphologically bound comes primarily from the general locative marker *=ri* and the genitive marker *=lʌ* and their morphophonemic behavior with respect to elements in the NP. There is no evidence of /r/ gemination when *=ri* follows a word that is r-final. Likewise, there is no evidence of /l/ gemination when *=lʌ* follows a word that is l-final. This is shown in (3.86):

(3.86)

Lexical item		*With case enclitic*	
[kʰʌ̂r]	'neck'	[kʰʌ̂=ɾi]	'on the neck'
[jûl]	'village'	[jû=lʌ mî]	'people of the village'

In addition, case markers never receive primary stress, suggesting that they are bound to their root. For more discussion on stress in Manange, refer back to §2.6.

One piece of evidence which indicates the clitic status of Manange casemarkers is that when two NP's are conjoined and both are marked for the same semantic role, the case marker can appear either after each noun or at the end of the NP, as (3.87) shows:

(3.87)

lŋʌ=tse	*4ŋi-ŋtha*	*mlə̀nkya*	***nə̀kor(=ri)***	*ten*	*2sen*
1(SG)=ERG	two-CLASS	black	**cat(=LOC)**	CONJ	three

tʌ̀rkya	*nyùkyu=ri*	*lmraŋ*	*lmo*
white	**dog=LOC**	see	COP

'I see two black cats and three white dogs.'

The first object argument in (3.87), *nə̀kor* 'cat,' can optionally take the dative marker, while the second object argument, *nyùkyu ~ nʌ̀kyu* 'dog,' always takes the dative marker. The same pattern can be shown with the ergative casemarker in (3.88):

(3.88) *4ŋi-ŋtha* *mlɛ̀nkya* **nɔ̀kor(=tse)** *ten* *2sen*
two-CLASS black **cat(=ERG)** CONJ three

tʌ̀rkya *nyùkyu=tse* *1ŋʌ=ri* *3pyu-tsi*
white **dog=ERG** 1(SG)=LOC chase-PERF
'Two black cats and three white dogs chased me.'

In the following sections, I discuss the distribution of case in Manange. As it currently stands, a description of the distribution of this morphology is no simple task; there appear to be different patterns of case morphology for different speakers. Consequently, the following discussion focuses mainly on data gathered from my primary consultant, with occasional comparisons made with what my other consultants have provided.

3.6.1 Ergative

For the following sections, I utilise the diagnostic terms A, S and O for the agentive argument of a transitive clause, the single argument of an intransitive clause, and the affected argument of a transitive clause, respectively (Comrie 1978, Dixon 1994).

In some cases, Manange appears to display a pattern of case marking whereby the A argument of transitive clauses shows one marker (*=tse*), and the S and O arguments show a different type of marking, namely absolutive (or zero) marking. The case clitic *=tse* appears on the A arguments of both perfective and imperfective transitive clauses, as the examples in (3.89 and 3.90) show:

(3.89) Perfective

a. **ànye=ko=tse** *àle=ko=ri* *1mwe* *1lʌ-tsi*
girl=DEF=ERG boy=DEF=LOC kiss do-PERF
'The girl kissed the boy.'

b. **ŋìma=ko=tse** *1ŋʌ=ri* *1mraŋ-tsi*
bird=DEF=ERG 1(SG)=LOC see-PERF
'The bird saw me.'

c. **1khi=tse** *3laŋ=ri* *2ŋi-tsi*
3(SG)=ERG question=INDEF ask-PERF
'He asked a question.'

d. **1ŋʌ=tse** *kàtsa=ko* *pu* *2phi=ri* *4nya-tsi*
1(SG)=ERG cloth=DEF pot up=LOC wrap-PERF
'I wrapped the cloth around the pot.'

e. **1mriŋ=ko=tse** *kʌ̀rtî=ko* *tsìtu=ri* *1khya-tsi*
woman=DEF=ERG knife=DEF leopard=LOC throw-PERF
'The woman threw the knife at the leopard.'

(3.90) Imperfective

a. ***1ŋʌ=tse*** *1ŋʌ=lʌ* *4mwi* *1ca-tsʌ* *1mo*
1(SG)=ERG 1(SG)=GEN money search-CONT COP
'I am searching for my money.'

b. ***1khi=tse*** *pòli* *1kon-tsʌ* *1mo*
3(SG)=ERG shoe wear-CONT COP
'He is wearing shoes.'

c. ***iden=tse*** *mina=ri* *2chen* *2priin* *1mo*
Eden=ERG Mina=LOC always hit COP
'Eden always hits Mina.'

Example (3.91) illustrates, in contrast, absolutive marking on the S argument:

(3.91) *tìŋi* *nânaŋ* *1ŋʌ* *1ʈu-tsi*
today morning **1(SG)** sit/stay-PERF
'This morning, I sat/stayed/rested.'

Based on this brief description of how casemarking patterns in Manange, this is evidence towards a system of morphological ergativity in the language.

However, in both elicited and connected speech, I have encountered variations and splits in case marking which warrant a deeper investigation as to what the actual correlates of case marking might be in the language. These variations include a modality split in ergative marking, and the general high degree of optionality of case marking that I have encountered in most forms of connected speech. I now discuss both of these phenomena in more detail.

As is further discussed in §4.5, for some of my consultants, Manange shows a realis/irrealis split in ergative case marking, as these clausal 'minimal pairs' show:

(3.92) a. Realis
1mriŋ=tse *náka* *2phuŋ* *2khol-tsi*
woman=ERG chicken egg boil-PERF
'The woman boiled the egg.'

b. Irrealis
*1mriŋ**=**tse* *náka* *2phuŋ* *2khol(-pʌ)*
woman*=**ERG** chicken egg boil(-NOM)
'The woman will boil the egg.'

Even though the verb *2khol* 'boil' is transitive, in future/irrealis mode the ergative case marker is unacceptable to almost all of my consultants.[13] The exception to this is my Kathmandu consultant Eden, who feels that *=tse* is acceptable on the A in any transitive clause, regardless of the aspect or modality of the main verb.

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[13] Note here that this split in ergative marking in Manange is similar to the lack of the ergative marker *le* on future constructions in Nepali.

Another modal construction in Manange which fails to show *=tse* casemarking on the A, further evidence of a realis/irrealis split, is the immediate mode. As further described in §4.5, immediates mark the imminency of an action, and can be framed within aspect or modality. Examples are shown in (3.93 a-b) below:

(3.93) a. *1ŋʌ*=tse* *nyùkyu=ri* *2prim-pi* *11ʌ-tsi*
1(SG)*=**ERG** dog=LOC hit/kick-IMM do-PERF
'I prepared to/was about to hit/kick the dog.'

b. *1khi*=tse* *1tsʌ-pi* *11ʌ-pʌ*
3(SG)*=**ERG** eat-IMM do-NOM
'He is prepared to/is about to eat.'

As the examples above show, A arguments are not casemarked with *=tse* in immediates.

Other modal constructions which do not show ergative marking on A arguments include desiderative and potential (abilitative), and deontic constructions shown in the following examples:

(3.94) a. Desiderative
1ŋʌ *3ya* *1shʌ* *1tsʌ-pʌ* *3saŋ* *1khʌ-tsi*
1(SG) yak flesh eat-NOM want come-PERF
'I wanted to eat yak meat.'

b. Potential
1ŋʌ *4khwe* *2priin* *11ʌ* *4kheen-tsi*
1(SG) song hit do able-PERF
'I was able to sing.'

c. Deontic
1ŋʌ *1shʌ* *1tsʌ* *11ʌ* *3yaŋ*
1(SG) meat eat do DEONTIC
'I should/must eat the meat.'

These examples show that even when the sentence as a whole is framed in perfective aspect (as in a and b above), the A arguments of the transitive verbs in the dependent clauses do not show ergative marking. Examples such as these suggest that case marking in Manange may in fact be conditioned at times by semantic parameters, rather than strictly syntactic ones.

In addition to the modality split that I have described above, case marking on core arguments (i.e. transitive A's and Patients) is generally optional and actually is rare in connected speech. In the 'Yak and Water Buffalo' story that is included in Chapter 6 of this grammar, of the eight instances of overtly mentioned A arguments (either lexical nouns or pronouns), only three show ergative case marking, while the other five do not.

This high degree of optionality of casemarking thus leads to new research questions centering primarily on what the function of the so-called ergative marker actually is. While it seems to pattern along lines of transitivity in elicitation and in some discourse examples, it seems to pattern along different, more semantic (and perhaps pragmatic) lines

in most other discourse environments. I will end this discussion by keeping the term 'ergative marker' for the case clitic *=tse* that appears on transitive A arguments, but with the caveat that ergativity in Manange shows some differences from what is presented in Dixon's (1994) description of the grammatical pattern of ergativity. Clearly, more research on Manange casemarking is needed before a true syntactic ergative/absolutive system can be argued for or against.

3.6.2 Instrumental

The instrumental case in Manange also uses the clitic *=tse*. An example is shown in (3.95):

(3.95) *lŋʌ=tse* *nyùkyu=ko=ri* ***pèrkʌ=tse*** *2pho-tsi*
1(SG)=ERG dog=DEF=LOC **stick=INSTR** beat-PERF
'I beat the dog with a stick.'

Currently, this is my only collected example of the instrumental case. More examples are needed to better understand its distribution, as well as to see if there are in fact other possible instrumental markers in Manange.

3.6.3 Genitive

Examples of the genitive case marker *=lʌ* are provided in (3.96 a-c):

(3.96) a. *àmʌ=ko=tse* ***lkhi=lʌ*** *kòla=ri* *lca* *lmo*
mother=DEF=ERG **3(SG)=GEN** child=LOC search COP
'The mother searches for her child.'

b. ***kòla=lʌ*** *kōlâ* *2kye* *lmo* *lmu*
child=GEN clothing pretty COP EVID
'The child's dress is pretty.'

c. *lŋʌ=lʌ* *àkhe* *lmo*
1(SG)=GEN grandfather COP
'I have a grandfather.'

3.6.4 Comitative

The comitative case marker, which marks a specific association between nouns, is shown in example (3.97 a-b):

(3.97) a. *tìŋi* *lŋʌ* *lŋʌ=lʌ* *3sro=tse=yuŋ* *lmo*
today 1(SG) 1(SG)=GEN **friend=PL=COMIT** COP
'Today I am with my friends.'

b. *kôla=ko* ***pòli=yuŋ*** *lmo*
clothing=DEF **shoes=COMIT** COP
'The dress is with the shoes.'

=yuŋ can also be used to mark possession, as (3.98 a-b) show:

(3.98) a. *1ŋʌ=yuŋ* *2se-ntha* *4che=tse* *1mo*
1(SG)=COMIT three-CLASS book=PL COP
'I have three books.'

b. *1ŋʌ=yuŋ* *kʌ́tti* *3sro=tse* *1mo*
1(SG)=COMIT many friend=PL COP
'I have many friends.'

My consultant prefers to use the genitive marker *=lʌ* when showing possession that relates to one's relatives, as in (3.96 c) above. She prefers to use the comitative marker when showing possession that relates to having an object in possession at a given time, or 'with one.' In addition, she prefers to use the locative marker when possession implies that one thing is in a specific location with respect to another, as in (3.99 a-b) below:

(3.99) a. *4thin=ri* *2mre=ri* *1mo*
house=LOC door=INDEF COP
'A house has a door.'

b. *1ŋʌ=lʌ* *3sup=ri* *4ŋi-ŋtha* *pâle* *1mo*
1(SG)=GEN **body=LOC** two-CLASS leg COP
'My body has two legs.'

For more discussion on the locative marker, refer to §3.6.6.

=yuŋ also is used in situations where one possible English interpretation is as direction, such as 'talk to/speak to.' This is shown in (3.100):

(3.100) *3mi=ko* *1ŋʌ=yuŋ* *3laŋ.she-tsi*
person=DEF **1(SG)=ASSOC** speak-PRF
'The man talked to me.'

In (3.100) it can be inferred that another possible interpretation is that 'the man talked with me.' Perhaps my consultant prefers the comitative because she views the situation as a dialogue rather than a monologue. In clearly monologic discourse situations, such as in shouting, the Locative marker *=ri* is used, as shown in (3.101):

(3.101) *3mi=ko* ***kò̀la=ko=ri*** *kè̀.te-tsi*
person=DEF **child=DEF=LOC** shout.take-PERF
'The man shouted at the child.'

A more thorough discussion of the functions of *=ri* is given in §3.6.6.

3.6.5 Ablative

=tʌr marks the ablative case in Manange, signaling the source from which movement emanates. Examples are provided in (3.102 a-b):

(3.102) a. *1khi=ko* *1chal=tʌr* *ʌ̀tse* *1te* *1mi* *1ro*
3=DEF **window=ABL** like this fall EVID REP
'Like this he fell from the window.' (Boy Dog Frog)

b. *1khi=tse* *pharkal* *2phi=tʌr* *3ŋyo-tsi*
3=ERG wall **up=ABL** look-PERF
'He looked over the wall.'

Example (b) can be interpreted literally as 'he looked from up on the wall (to the other side).'

3.6.6 General locative

The general locative marker in Manange is *=ri*. It is used to mark direction towards, as well as a sense of general location or to mark spatial and temporal deixis. Examples of its use as a general locative marker are provided in (3.103 a-h):

(3.103) a. *1ŋʌ* *4thin=ri* *4phro-tsi*
1(SG) **house=LOC** walk-PERF
'I walked to the house.'

b. *kò̀la=ko=tse* *yûŋpʌ=tse* **nyùkyu=ri** *1khya-tsi*
child=DEF=ERG stone=PL **dog=LOC** throw-PERF
'The child threw stones at the dog.'

c. *1ŋʌ* *kò̀la* *2ta-pʌ* *ka-nʌ* **nepʌl=ri** *1khʌ-tsi*
1(SG) child what-NOM **-** **Nepal=LOC** come-PERF
'I once came to Nepal when I was a child.'

d. *1ŋʌ* *1thaŋ=ri* *1ʈu-tsu* *1mo*
1(SG) **ground=LOC** sit-CONT COP
'I am sitting on the ground.'

e. *3ŋye* *1u=ri* *1mo*
milk **DIST=LOC** COP
'There is the milk.'

f. *tsò̀kcu* *siki* *1lʌ-pʌ* *4khya=ri* *1mo*
table food do-NOM **place=LOC** COP
'The table is in the kitchen.'

g. *4me=tse* *1kye=ri* *chi-tse* *1tsʌ-tsʌ* *1mo*
cow=PL **field=LOC** graze-CC eat-CONT COP
'The cows are grazing in the field.'

h. *1ŋʌ=tse* *1shʌ=ko* *shôsho=ri* *4tshor-tsi*
1(SG)=ERG meat=DEF **paper=LOC** wrap.inside=PERF
'I wrapped the meat in the paper.'

Manange also has a series of roots to which *=ri* attaches, providing more specific locational information. These are shown in (3.104):

(3.104)	*2phi=ri*	'up'; 'on top of' (objects); 'around' (as in wrapping)
	tso=ri	'on top of' (summits)
	3naŋ=ri	'inside'; 'downward'; 'below'
	ti=ri	'near'
	1pʌr=ri	'in between'
	kuŋ=ri	'middle' (old meaning of 'hollow'?)
	ko=ro	'around'
	1thaŋ=ri	'out' ('on the ground'?)
	2tsi=ri	'this side'
	ku=ri	'around the corner'
	tshá?raŋ 4khya=ri	'all around' (every place=LOC)
	ŋoŋtsʌ=ri	'in front of/before'
	litsʌ=ri	'behind'

Some constructions with these locational elements are provided in (3.105 a-e):

(3.105) a. *1ŋʌ=tse* *shíŋto=tse* *khomʌ* *3naŋ=ri* *tshaŋ-tsi*
1(SG)=ERG fruit=PL bag **inside=LOC** put-PERF
'I put the fruit into the bag.'

b. *1ŋʌ=tse* *1kʌp=ko* *tsȍkcu* *2phi=ri* *2tshaŋ-tsi*
1(SG)=ERG cup=DEF table **up=LOC** put-PERF
'I put the cup on the table.'

c. *1ŋʌ=tse* *katsa=ko* *pu* *2phi=ri* *4nya-tsi*
1(SG)=ERG cloth=DEF pot **up=LOC** wrap.around-PERF
I wrapped the cloth around the pot.'

d. *1ŋʌ* *2kaŋ* *2tso=ri* *1mo*
1(SG) mountain **top=LOC** COP
'I am on top of the mountain.'

e. *1ŋʌ* *4thin* *litsʌ=ri* *1mo*
1(SG) house **behind=LOC** COP
'I am behind the house.'

It is not known at this time whether or not all of these locational roots are free morphemes. To date, they have not been elicited without a case morpheme (either the locative or the ablative clitic) immediately following them. Disyllabic location roots such as 'behind' appear to take primary stress on the initial syllable, evidence for their status as free morphemes. It is also not currently known to which lexical class (if any) these roots belong.

In addition, *=ri* marks temporal deixis. Examples are provided in (3.106 a-b):

(3.106) a. *kuriŋ* *3lo=ri* *1ŋʌ* *nepʌl=ri* *1khʌ-tso*
next **year=LOC** 1(SG) Nepal=LOC come-FUT
'Next year I will come to Nepal.'

b. *nânaŋ* **la=ri** *1ŋʌ* *nepʌl=ri* *1khʌ-tsi*
former **month=LOC** 1(SG) Nepal=LOC come-PERF
'Last month I came to Nepal.'

=ri does not occur on all temporal adverbs. Words such as *nèse* 'tomorrow,' *tèle* 'yesterday,' and *tìŋi múntse* 'this evening' to date have not occurred in my data with the locative marker.

=ri is also used to mark recipients of benefactive verbs such as 'give,' or in benefactive situations such as to make or bring something for someone else, as shown in (3.107 a-c):

(3.107) a. *1mriŋ=ko=tse* *ʔūshu=ko* **kòla=ko=ri** *1pin-tsi*
woman=DEF=ERG apple=DEF **child=DEF=LOC** give-PERF
'The woman gave the apple to the child.'

b. *1ŋʌ=lʌ* *àmʌ=tse* *1ŋʌ=ri* *kòla=ri* *2sʌ-tsi*
1(SG)=GEN mother=ERG **1=LOC** dress=INDEF make-PERF
'My mother made a dress for me.'

c. *1mriŋ=ko=tse* *2nʌ-pʌ* *kòla=ri* *1le*
woman=DEF=ERG sick-NOM **child=LOC** warm

3ce *3pu* *1khʌ-tsi*
tea bring come-PERF
'The woman brought hot tea to the sick child.'

3.6.7 Object marking in Manange

Most O arguments in Manange show absolutive (zero) marking, as examples (3.108 a-c) show:

(3.108) a. *1ŋʌ=tse* *1ŋʌ=lʌ* *kìkya=ri* *4mwi* *4phrʌ* *1yaŋ-tsi*
1(SG)=ERG 1(SG)=GEN pocket=LOC **money** **100** find-PERF
'I found 100 rupees in my pocket.'

b. *1khi=tse* **siki** *1tsʌ-tsi*
3(SG)=ERG **food** eat-PERF
'He ate the food.'

c. *1ŋʌ=tse* *kôla* *2shu-tso*
1(SG)=ERG **clothes** wash-FUT
'I will wash the clothing.'

However, some O arguments are marked by *=ri*. These are always animate arguments that are in some way, either positively or negatively, affected by the actions of the A. Examples are shown in (3.109 a-g):

(3.109) a. *iden=tse* *3**kyʌ=ri* *2prin-tsi*
Eden=ERG **2(SG)=LOC** hit-PERF
'Eden hit you.'

b. *1ŋʌ=tse* *3**kyʌ=ri* *kʌ́tti* *3sʌ-pʌ* *siki* *1tsʌ-pʌ*
1=ERG **2(SG)=LOC** many nice-NOM food eat-NOM

1pin-le *3kyʌ* *1nuŋ-pʌ* *1tʌ-tsi*
give-CONCESS 2(SG) thin-NOM become-PERF
'Although I fed you many good foods, you still became thin.'

c. *à̰ŋye=ko=tse* *1khi=lʌ* *1cam-pʌ* ***à̰cuŋ=ri***
girl=DEF=ERG 3=GEN little-NOM **brother=LOC**

tûkʌŋ=ri *3por* *1yʌ-tsi*
market=LOC take go-PERF
'The girl took her little brother to the market.'

d. *1mriŋ=ko=tse* ***kò̰la=ko=ri*** *kʌ́tti*
woman=DEF=AG **child=DEF=LOC** many

upʌhʌr=tse *1pin-tse* *kul-tsi*
gift=PL give-CC send.away-PERF
'The woman sent the child away with many gifts.'

e. *nyùkyu=tse* *1ŋʌ=ri* *2che-tsi*
dog=ERG **1(SG)=LOC** bite-PERF
'The dog bit me.'

f. *nyùkyu=ko=tse* ***nò̰kor=ko=ri*** *1chen* *mo*
dog=DEF=ERG **cat=DEF=LOC** chase COP
The dog chases the cat.'

g. *nyùkyu=ko=tse* ***nò̰kor=ko=ri*** *1chin-tsi*
dog=DEF=ERG **cat=DEF=LOC** catch-PERF
'The dog caught the cat.'

Verbs such as 'hit, call, chase, catch, bite, help, feed, laugh/shout at' and 'take' are verbs that often take animate objects. The following 'minimal pair' in (3.110) show that in order for a patient-like argument to actually show marking, there has to be a semantic implication of animacy and affectedness:

(3.110) a. *nyùkyu=ko=tse* **nòkor=ko=ri** *1chin-tsi*
dog=DEF=ERG **cat=DEF=LOC** catch-PERF
'The dog caught the cat.'

b. *àle=ko=tse* **ball=ko** *1chin-tsi*
boy=DEF=ERG **ball=DEF** catch-PERF
'The boy caught the ball.'

In (a) 'cat' takes patient marking because it is animate and is affected by the intended actions of the dog. 'ball' in (b) on the other hand, is not animate, and so does not experience the kind of affectedness that 'cat' does. Therefore, it is not marked with *=ri*.

The clitic *=ri* is also used in some clauses where the subject of a sentence is treated as an experiencer. These are seen in expressions of desire, as shown in (3.111 a-b):

(3.111) a. ***1ŋʌ=ri*** *1u* *a* *nukyu=ko* *1to*
1(SG)=LOC DIST ah pen=DEF arrive
'I want that pen over there.'[14]

b. ***1ŋʌ=ri*** *skul=ri* *4phro-tse* *1yʌ-pʌ* *3saŋ*
1(SG)=LOC school=LOC walk-CC go-NOM desire

1khʌ *1mo*
come COP
'I like to walk to school.'

The locative marker is not used to mark experiencer subjects which express certain other emotions, such as love, hate, fear, or shame, or which are affected by external influences, such as illness. In these cases, the subject is in the absolutive. However, I do have one construction in my field notes where the head noun of the subject *1ya* 'arm' is marked with *=ri*:

(3.112) *1ŋʌ=lʌ* ***1ya=ri*** *mʌ̀ka* *1tʌ* *1mi*
1(SG)=GEN **arm=LOC** wound become EVID
'My arm is injured.'

The locative marker in (3.112) should be thought of as more of a general locative marker expressing the location of the wound. This is because the structure of the sentence can be seen as more copular/stative than as an event. In this case, the translation is better analyzed as 'A wound has become/come into existence on my arm.'

An analysis such as this better accounts for the overall lack of locative marking on other arguments which experience emotions or external influences, including one which has a similar general meaning to the one in (3.112), such as in (3.113) below:

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[14] This construction may in fact be a directive; however, the expected verbs such as 'give' or 'bring' are not used.

(3.113) *4me=lʌ* *3ru=ko* *1sha* *1mi*
cow=GEN horn=DEF break EVID
'The cow's horn was broken.'

Here, *3ru* 'horn' also does not take locative marking.

3.7 Definiteness and indefiniteness in Manange

Manange makes use of two definiteness clitics, *=ko* and *=ri*. The first clitic, *=ko,* is used to mark definiteness of previously introduced or known referents and *=ri* marks indefiniteness or newly introduced referents.

These definiteness markers are bound. One piece of evidence lies in that *=ko* undergoes voicing assimilation when it follows nouns with word-final voiced consonants. This is shown in (3.114):

(3.114) [kʌ̀l=go] 'the banana'
[tsʰàŋ=go] 'the bride'

The velar obstruent in *=ko* is voiceless, however, when following vowel-final nouns, as in (3.115):

(3.115) [tʃê=ko] 'the book'
[ʃʌ̀=ko] 'the meat/flesh'

When *=ri* occurs following r-final nouns, there is not gemination, suggesting that there is a process of r-deletion. (3.116) shows an example of this:

(3.116) *Lexical item* *With indefinite marker*
[nòkòr] 'cat' [nòkò=ri] 'a cat'

This shows that *=ri* and *=ko* are not treated as an independent morpheme, but rather are bound to the preceding nouns and undergoing morphophonemic alternations depending upon the noun's word-final segments. However, my consultant feels that these definiteness markers still have their own independent meaning, which she translates as 'the' and 'a.' In elicitations of 'the banana' and 'a banana,' she provides me with *1kʌl=ko* and *1kʌl=ri*, respectively.

These definiteness markers are clitics as opposed to suffixes because they occur at the end of an NP rather than after each noun or pronoun. Examples are shown below:

(3.117) a. *kòla* *2nʌ-pʌ* *4ŋi=**ko***
child sick-NOM two=**DEF**
'the two sick children.'

b. *lu* *móna=**ri***
cave dark=**INDEF**
'a dark cave'

These clitics appear to have scope over the entire NP rather than just individual words. Definiteness clitics consistently precede the casemarkers. They co-occur freely with them, although I have never seen the combination *=ri=ri* (LOC + INDEF). Definiteness clitics do not occur with plural clitics. I will return to this in more detail later in this section.

In transcribed narratives, *=ri* is often used to introduce new characters into the story, functioning like a topicaliser, as (3.118) shows:

(3.118) *3tʌŋ-pʌ* *3tʌŋ-pʌ* *ah* *1u=ri*
ancient-NOM ancient -NOM DM DIST=LOC

4shi **ȁle=ri** *1mo* *1mu* *1ro*
one **boy=INDEF** be EVID REP
'Once upon a time, there was a boy.'

In (3.118) *3tʌŋ-pʌ* marks the beginning of the story. The boy is the first introduced character. Throughout the rest of the story, this character is marked with either *=ko* or is unmarked.

That indefinite *=ri* is homophonous with the oblique/patient case marker *=ri* suggests that they may be the same morpheme. However, two pieces of evidence point to their status as separate morphemes, serving separate functions and probably deriving from different sources.

First, a look at the distribution of indefinite *=ri* in narratives reveals that it typically occurs only at the beginning of narratives and almost always in intransitive clauses, typically in copulas, as in (3.118) above. It is clear that *=ri* is not functioning to mark location in these instances, as a locational meaning of the example would be 'in the boy.' In addition, all of my consultants feel sure that the *=ri* on *ȁle=ri* in (3.118) is not saying anything about location or direction, suggesting that this is a different morpheme from locative *=ri*.

Secondly, all of my consultants consistently tell me that indefinite *=ri* most closely corresponds to English 'a/an.' This is similar to the function of the nominal affix *-ri* in Nar-Phu, (Noonan 2003b). Noonan describes the indefinite marker in this language as deriving historically from the Tibetan numeral *ɲi* 'one.' This is also the most plausible case in Manange.

As mentioned previously, *=ko* marks definiteness in Manange. It occurs regularly on referents with given activation cost in narratives (see Chafe 1987; 1994) and corresponds roughly with English 'the' in elicited settings. An example of its use on known referents comes from (3.119) below; it is the very next sentence in the same story which has its opening line shown in example (3.118) above:

(3.119) *1u* **ȁle=yuŋ=ko** *ah* *nyùkyu* *rʌ* *4shi*
DIST **boy=COMIT=DEF** DM dog CONJ one

phôlpʌ=ri *1mo* *1mu* *1ro*
frog-INDEF COP EVID REP
'That boy had a dog and one frog.'

In this example, the boy has already been introduced and now displays given activation cost. For the rest of the narrative, *ȁle* 'boy,' who is the main character and is present throughout the story, is marked either with the *=ko* definite marker or with other case/plural clitics, but not with the indefinite clitic.

On a related note, there is the possibility that definite *=ko* is related to the evidential marker *ko*, which appears in narratives told by older Manange speakers. In the following example, *ko* appears at the end of an independent clause:

(3.120) *ʌ̀tse* *3ya* *kʌ́tti* *1mo-pʌ* **ko**
like.this yak many COP-NOM **EVID**
'Like this, there were many yaks.' (YakBuff)

Although this clause is not marked with the usual aspect morphemes such as *-tsi* 'PERF,' it is considered to be a main clause and can stand on its own. Both the final falling intonation at the end of the clause, as well as the long pause between this clause and the following one in the narrative are both prosodic cues pointing to its status as a main clause.

The evidential *ko* has only been witnessed thus far in connected speech from my older consultants. My younger consultant does not use or recognise it. My older consultants explain the use of *ko* as a kind of 'checked and confirmed' meaning. It appears to be most frequent in popular narratives, and is somewhat less frequent in conversational discourse.

In terms of grammaticisation, evidential *ko* appears to be derived from the definite clitic *=ko*, as their functions and structural distributions are quite similar—that of pointing to something. With respect to definite *=ko*, the pointing is towards a referent; with respect to evidential *ko*, the pointing is to a confirmed action or event. For more discussion on evidential *ko* and other Manange evidentials, refer to §4.3 and §4.4.1.

Interestingly, my consultants do not accept either the indefinite or definite clitic with plural marking. They do not find (3.121), for example, acceptable:

(3.121) *1ŋʌ=tse* *mlȅnkya* ***nyùkyu=ko=tse=ri*** *2prin-tsi*
1(SG)=ERG black **dog=DEF=PL=LOC** hit-PERF
'I hit the black dogs.'

This suggests that once a referent is established in the discourse, keeping count of that referent may not be important. If keeping count is still important, my consultants say that the use of a numeral preceding the definite-marked head noun is acceptable, as (3.122) shows:

(3.122) *1ŋʌ=tse* *4***ŋi** *mlȅnkya* *nyùkyu=ko=ri* *2prin-tsi*
1(SG)=ERG **two** black dog=DEF=LOC hit-PERF
'I hit the two black dogs.'

3.8 Word order in the Manange NP

In this section I describe the ordering patterns with respect to the head noun and its modifying elements, including property concepts (adjectives), numerals, and determiners.

A noun phrase in Manange may consist minimally of a single noun, as in:

(3.123) *nyùkyu* 'dog'

However, often times in narrative texts, nouns occur with other nominal elements, such as modifiers and case-markers. The following is a representation of a prototypical Manange noun phrase for my primary consultant Eden, complete with all modifying elements:

Numeral Property Concept noun=DET=CASE/NUMBER

For this consultant, both numerals and property concepts precede the head noun, while determiners, case and numeral marking are all enclitics, following the head. Two elicited examples of this is found in (3.124 a-b):

(3.124) a. *2sen* *mlə̀nkya* *nyùkyu=ko=tse*
three black dog=DEF=ERG
'the three black dogs (in A position)'

b. *4ŋi* *4phlo-pʌ* *3mi=ko=ri*
two rich-NOM person=DEF=LOC
'to the two rich men'

In contrast to my primary Kathmandu consultant, my other consultants both prefer different word ordering with respect to nominal elements. For them, the prototypical ordering pattern is represented by:

Head Property Concept Numeral=DET=NUMBER/CASE

This representation is shown in the following examples:

(3.125) a. **ʔūshu** **3sʌ-pʌ** **4ŋi**
apple **tasty-NOM** **two**
'two tasty apples'

b. *3mi* **2nʌ-pʌ=tse** *ə̀lo* *1tsʌ-tsi*
person **sick-NOM=ERG** potato eat-PERF
'The sick man ate the potato.'

c. *nyùkyu* **2nʌ-pʌ=ko=tse** *4nu-tsi*
dog **sick-NOM=DEF=PL** sleep-PERF
'The sick dogs slept.'

As these examples show, the ordering of nominal modifiers with respect to the head appears to be in complete opposition between my primary and secondary consultants. While my primary consultant prefers a head-modifier ordering, other consultants clearly prefer a modifier-head ordering.

I am unable to account for the difference in ordering preferences. Perhaps one factor may be Eden's use of more Indo-Aryan languages (Hindi, English, Nepali) on a fairly regular basis. Nepali and Hindi both have predominantly pre-nominal ordering of all

constituents in an NP. Eden's extensive use of Indo-Aryan may be opposed to my other consultants' predominant use of Manange (even though they both speak fluent Nepali). The post-nominal ordering of modifiers is also found in other languages of this sub-family, such as Nar-Phu (2003b) states that the exceptions where modifier-head ordering can be found in Nar-Phu might actually be cases of compounding.

It is interesting to note here that the ordering preferred by some of my consultants appears to be in opposition to Greenberg's (1963) ordering universals. The claim is that languages which display O-V as the basic main clause word order (which Manange does) also correlate with a modifier-head ordering in the noun phrase. While my secondary consultants do show O-V word order in the main clause as most frequent, they also all prefer head-modifier ordering in the noun phrase.

4 *Morphology of the Manange verb complex and the clause*

In this chapter, I examine the morphosyntax of the Manange verb and verbal elements. In §4.1 I provide discussion on the multifunctional nature of the Manange nominaliser *-pʌ*. In §4.2 I describe the two verb stem classes in Manange. In §4.3 I discuss copulas. In §4.4 I describe finite verb morphology, including evidentials and aspect. In §4.5 I focus on modality in Manange. In §4.6–4.8 I discuss negation, causation, reflexives and reciprocals, and constituent/word order patterns of the Manange clause as I have seen them in elicited environments and in connected speech.

4.1 Manange *-pʌ*

Before launching into a more detailed analysis of the verb complex and its inflectional and derivational morphology, I wish here to provide some discussion on the Manange nominalizing suffix *-pʌ*. As has been evidenced so far, *-pʌ* is a derivational suffix in Manange which functions, among other things, to nominalise verbs, such as with relative clauses or with verbal property concepts used as nominal modifiers:

(4.1) *3mi* *2nʌ-pʌ=tse* *alo* *1tsʌ=tsi*
person sick-**NOM**=ERG potato eat=PERF
'The sick man ate the potato.'

The *-pʌ* suffix also appears on verbs in the citation or elicitation form:

(4.2) *4nu-pʌ* 'to sleep'
1khʌ-pʌ 'to come'
1khya-pʌ 'to throw'

-pʌ also occurs in a variety of other constructions in Manange, including on main verbs in 'future' irrealis constructions, on main verbs in clause-final position preceding the evidential *ko*, and in various clause combining constructions including 'because' adverbial clauses and some complement clauses. I will briefly illustrate these constructions here, and each construction will be described in more detail in its relevant section.

The nominaliser *-pʌ* occurs clause-finally on main verbs which are interpreted as being in the future tense, as the following example shows:[1]

(4.3) *1khi* *4nu-pʌ*
3(SG) sleep-**NOM**
'He will sleep.'

As will be discussed in more detail in §4.4 and §4.5, tense is not grammatically marked in Manange, but it can be determined by the aspectual marking or other verb morphology (as well as time adverbials). Nominalised forms are interpreted as 'future tense' when they occur sentence-finally in the position of finite verbs, without following evidential morphology. The patterning of ergative marking on futures such as in (4.3) above and in other modal expressions such as desideratives and potentials in Manange suggests a realis/irrealis split in casemarking. For more discussion on this matter, refer back to §3.6.1 or ahead to §4.5.1.

When nominalised main verbs are followed by the evidential *ko*, they are often (although not necessarily) interpreted as future, with the added evidential meaning of 'the action or event, while not viewed personally by me, has been checked and confirmed to be so.' An example follows:

(4.4) a. *3ya* *kʌ́tti* *1mo-pʌ* ***ko***
yak many COP-**NOM** **EVID**
'There were many yaks.'

b. *1khi* *4khe=ri* *1yʌ-pʌ* ***ko***
3(SG) work=LOC go-**NOM** **EVID**
'He will go to work.'

For more discussion on the *ko* evidential and other evidentials in Manange, refer to §4.3 and §4.4.1.

The *-pʌ* nominaliser also marks one type of adverbial clause, namely 'because' causation clauses, as in:

(4.5) *1ŋʌ=tse* *4mwi* *4phrʌ* *3kyʌ=ri* *1pim-pʌ*
1=ERG money 100 2(SG)=LOC **give-NOM**

nèse *3kyʌ* *kôla* *3kyu-pʌ*
tomorrow 2(SG) clothes buy-NOM
'Because I gave you 100 rupees, you will buy a dress tomorrow.'

In these constructions, *-pʌ* occurs on the dependent clause of the sentence. Note also in this example that *-pʌ* on the main verb *3kyu* 'buy' marks future irrealis mode. For more discussion on the morphosyntax of adverbial clauses in Manange, refer to §5.3.

The *-pʌ* suffix also functions as a complementiser in certain (but not all) complement clauses in Manange, as the following example shows:

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[1] Although for some speakers 'future' is indicated with a bare verb stem only.

(4.6) *1ŋʌ* *1yʌ-pʌ* *3saŋ* *1khʌ* *1mo*
1(SG) go-**NOM** want come COP
'I want to go.'

This example is a desiderative construction, with the complement clause containing the verb *1yʌ* 'go' nominalised. For more discussion on complementation strategies in Manange, refer to §5.1.

The *-pʌ* nominaliser also occurs preceding the adverbial suffix *-ri* in purposive clauses, as (4.7) shows:

(4.7) *1ŋʌ* *1shen* *3ʈi-pʌ-ri* *1yʌ-tse* *1mo*
1(SG) rice pick-**NOM-PURP** go-CONT COP
'I am going to pick rice.'

For more discussion on adverbial clauses in Manange, refer to §5.3.

At this point, I wish only to note that the functions of *-pʌ* are multiple in number, and can include derivational adjustments, marking modal distinctions, occurring clause-finally, and also marking different types of dependent clauses. This multifunctionality of nominalisers like Manange *-pʌ* in other Gurungic languages such as Chantyal is a common strategy (see Noonan 2003a). Further analysis of Manange *-pʌ* may reveal additional insights into its distribution.

4.2 Stem classes

Before discussing the copulas, aspect and modality, I will examine the stem classes in Manange. There is morphophonemic evidence for two separate stem classes. I will refer to them for now as classes A and B.

In Manange, the syllabic template of verb stems is:

(C) (C) V (C)

While all C's are optional, I have no data of V-only verbs in Manange. Examples of each verb type with the nominaliser/citation morpheme *-pʌ* are shown in (4.8):

(4.8) CV, CCV and CVC
1yʌ-pʌ 'to go'
3pi-pʌ 'to say'
1kro-pʌ 'to burn with flames'
1yaŋ-pʌ 'to get/acquire'
2khol-pʌ 'to boil'

Most frequently, verb stems appear without a coda consonant and the codas that do occur in Manange verb stems are restricted to /ŋ/, /l/, and /r/. The bilabial and alveolar nasals /m/ and /n/ also occur in this position, but as a result of predictable morphophonological changes, which are discussed below.

First, I will present verbs included in both Class A and Class B in (4.9). I will then provide the analysis for this class division.

(4.9)

Class A		*Class B*	
1yʌ-pʌ	'to go'	*1pim-pʌ*	'to give'
2khol-pʌ	'to boil'	*2prim-pʌ*	'to hit/to sing'
4nu-pʌ	'to sleep'	*1kom-pʌ*	'to wear'
2la-pʌ	'to run/flee'	*1them-pʌ*	'to move'
2thuŋ-pʌ	'to drink'	*1chim-pʌ*	'to catch'

Verbs belonging to Class A in the above example do not undergo morphophonemic variation with respect to the onset of a following suffix. Aspect suffixes such as the perfective suffix *=tsi* and the continuous suffix *-tse*, or the nominaliser *-pʌ* (as shown in 4.9 above) do not condition the surface representation of Class A stems. Additional examples of *2thuŋ-pʌ* 'to drink' and *1yʌ-pʌ* 'to go' are provided as attestations in examples (4.10) and (4.11) below:

(4.10) *2thuŋ-pʌ*

a. *à̀le=ko=tse* *3ce=ko* ***2thuŋ-tsi***
boy=DEF=ERG tea=DEF **drink-PERF**
'The boy drank the tea.'

b. *à̀le=ko=tse* *3ce=ko* ***2thuŋ***
boy=DEF=ERG tea=DEF **drink**
'The boy will drink the tea.'

(4.11) *1yʌ-pʌ*

a. *1khi* ***1yʌ-tsi***
3(SG) **go-PERF**
'He went.'

b. *1khi* ***1yʌ***
3(SG) **go**
'He will go.'

In each case, regardless of the C1 onset of the suffixing morpheme (or even the absence of a suffixing morpheme if *-pʌ* is omitted), the final C of *2thuŋ* 'drink' and the vowel of *1yʌ* 'go' maintain their same surface representations, [ŋ] and [ʌ], respectively. The same can be said for the final segments of all other Class A stems, whether there is a coda or the stem ends in a vowel. The phonetic realisation of Class A stems remains the same, regardless of the suffix.

Class B verb stems behave differently, however, with respect to their surface representations. The C3 coda position of Class B verbs shares the same place of articulation as the following bound morpheme, while always showing the terminal feature [+nasal]. Examples of perfective, imperfective continuous, and future (modal) *1pim-pʌ* 'to give' are provided in (4.12 a-c):

(4.12) a. Past/Perfective

1ŋʌ=lʌ	*àmʌ=tse*	*1ŋʌ=ri*	*4mwi*	*4phrʌ*	*1pin-tsi*
1(SG)=GEN	mother=ERG	1(SG)=LOC	money	100	**give-PERF**

'My mother gave me Rs 100.'

b. Imperative

(1ŋʌ=ri)	*1piŋ-ko*
(1(SG)=LOC)	**give-IMPER**

'Give it (to me)!'

c. Future/Irrealis

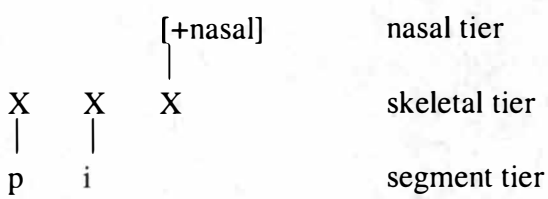
3kyʌ	*1ŋʌ=ri*	*4mwi*	*4phrʌ*	*1piin*	*a*
2(SG)	1(SG)=LOC	money	100	**give**	maybe

'Maybe you will give me Rs 100.'

In (a), with the perfective suffix *-tsi*, the surface form of the stem coda is realised as an alveolar nasal. In (b), with the imperative suffix *-ko*, the coda is realised as a velar nasal. In (c), in the non-first person future modal and with no suffix present, there is no coda consonant. Instead, the stem vowel is lengthened and nasalised (imperatives in Manange are further described in §4.5.2).

An autosegmental analysis of the morphophonemic alternations exhibited by Class B verb stems best captures their varying surface forms. The abstract, underlying representation of the stem of the Manange Class B verb 'give' may be represented as in (4.13) below. This representation has three tiers: a segment tier, which contains featural information (represented here as a unit, rather than as features in a geometric structure); a skeletal tier, which contains timing units represented as X's; and a nasal tier, which contains the feature [nasal]:

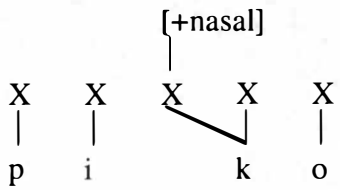
(4.13)



Notice that the representation contains an underspecified final segment, represented by a timing unit, but specified only for nasality.

When this verb stem precedes an obstruent-initial suffix, the empty skeletal element associates rightwards with the following consonant on the segment tier. This association is interpreted as a final nasal consonant in the stem, which is homorganic with the following obstruent:

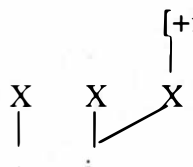
(4.14)



pìŋ-ko 'give (it)!'

When the stem occurs without a suffix, the underspecified segment is word-final. In order to be phonetically realised, it associates rightward with the preceding vowel. The rhyme is then interpreted phonetically as containing a lengthened nasalised vowel:

(4.15)



pìin 'give/will give'

An autosegmental analysis of Class B verbs has ramifications for other related, yet distinct, areas of Manange morphosyntax. For example, the behavior of Class B verb stems is useful in determining the morphological status of various grammatical morphemes in the language. An assimilation process of the stem suggests that morphemes such as *-tsi*, *-tse*, *-pʌ*, and *-ko* are bound.[2] Conversely, a vowel lengthening and nasalisation process of these stems suggests that the copula *1mo* and the eventive evidential *1mi* are in fact free morphemes.

4.3 The copula

Manange has one main copula: *1mo-pʌ*. It serves all existential, locational, equational, attributive and possessive functions. The copula *1mo* also occurs in the verb complexes of imperfective finite clauses, and may also signal an imperfective temporal context for a number of irrealis constructions (e.g. immediates, desideratives, deontics, and potentials that are temporally unbounded). More will be said about *1mo* in imperfective and irrealis contexts in §4.4 and §4.5.

The copula *1mo* is not obligatory in all Manange attributive and nominal predicate clauses; equational and attributive copular clauses can appear without any verbal element at all, as in (4.16 a-c):

(4.16) a. *1ŋʌ* *àmtsi*
1(SG) doctor
'I am a doctor.'

b. *2tso=ko* *kôla*
PROX=DEF clothing
'It is clothing.'

c. *1khi* *2nʌ-pʌ*
3(SG) sick-NOM
'He is sick.'

Unlike other lexical verbs in Manange, *1mo* does not inflect for aspect, and the lexical verb *1tʌ-pʌ* 'become' is used for inchoative aspects ('will become/became'). A *1mo*

[2] For *-ko* here, I refer to the imperative suffix, not the evidential particle *ko*. For more discussion on evidential *ko*, refer to §3.6.7 and also to §4.3.1 in this chapter.

copular clause may have either an imperfective or perfective translation, and different temporal contexts are signalled adverbially. Like other lexical verbs, it also does not inflect for person or number agreement with its argument. Examples of locative, attributive and possessive copula constructions with all persons and numbers represented are shown in (4.17-4.19):

(4.17) Attributive

a. *4thin=ko* *1thyʌ-pʌ* *1mo*
house=DEF big-NOM COP
'The house is big.'

b. *4thin* *4ŋi* *1thyʌ-pʌ* *1mo*
house two big-NOM COP
'The two houses are big.'

c. *nàraŋ* *4thin=ko* *1cam-pʌ* *1mo*
before house=DEF small-NOM COP
'The house was small before.'

(4.18) Locative

a. *àŋye=ko* *àle=ko=yuŋ* *1mo*
girl=DEF boy=DEF=COMIT COP
'The girl is with the boy.'

b. *tĭŋi* *1ŋʌ=lʌ* *nani=tse* *1ŋʌ=yuʌ* *1mo*
today 1(SG)=GEN sister=PL 1=COMIT COP
'Today my sisters are with me.'

c. *nàraŋ* *còktsʌ=ko* *siki* *1lʌ-pʌ* *4khya=ri* *1mo*
before table=DEF food do-NOM place=LOC COP
'The table was in the kitchen before (but not now).'

d. *1u=ri* *kòla=ko* *1mo*
DIST=LOC child=DEF COP
'There is the child.'

e. *1u=ri* *kòla=tse* *1mo*
DIST=LOC child=PL COP
'There are the children.'

(4.19) Possessive

a. *1ŋʌ=yuŋ* *2sen-tha* *4che=tse* *1mo*
1(SG)=COMIT three-CLASS book=PL COP
'I have three books.'

b. *tukyuŋ* *1khi=yuʌ* *nyùkyu=ri* *1mo*
last.year 3(SG)=COMIT dog=INDEF COP
'He had a dog last year.'

Notice that the possessive constructions involving copulas include the comitative clitic *=yuŋ*. My consultant also accepts the locative clitic *=ri* on the argument, as in (4.20):

(4.20) *1khi=ri* *nyùkyu=ri* *1mo*
3(SG)=LOC dog=INDEF COP
'He has a dog.'

A literal translation of (4.20) would be 'to him there is a dog', which has a more existential interpretation Although example (4.20) is acceptable, it is preferable to form possessives with *=yuŋ* and the vast majority of elicited and narrative examples have the comitative clitic instead of *=ri*.

As mentioned before, *1mo* does not inflect for aspect as other lexical verbs do, and thus *1tʌ* is used in inchoative copular clauses . It should be noted however that in active-clause contexts, *1mo* does show some of the other morphology associated with other lexical verbs; it may be nominalised with the *-pʌ* suffix. It also may occur in temporal adverbial clauses marked with the suffix *-ni*, as this excerpt from a story shows:

(4.21) *ʌ̀tse* *2khuŋ* *1sʌ=ko=ri* *hôktoŋ*
like.this hole ground=DEF=LOC hole

1mo-pʌ-ni,
be-NOM-ADV

à̀le=ko *hôktoŋ=ri* *2ŋyo* *ʈu-pʌ,*
boy=DEF hole=LOC look stay-NOM
'After seeing (there being) a hole in the ground, the boy continued to look into the hole.' (Boy Dog Frog)

The limitation in the other possible morphological operations may in fact be linked to the stative nature of *1mo*. Therefore, there is no motivation at this time to think that *1mo* is not a verb; rather, it is best to conceive of it as a verb with specific semantic and structural properties.

In inchoative copular constructions, *1tʌ-pʌ* 'become' is used in both perfective and imperfective inchoative stative predicates. Examples are provided in (4.22 and 4.23 below):

(4.22) Perfective Inchoative

1ŋʌ=lʌ *3tsʌ* *2nʌ-pʌ* ***1tʌ-tsi***
1(SG)=GEN son sick-NOM **become-PERF**
'My son became sick.'

(4.23) Continuous Inchoative

a. *2cucu* *4thin=ko* *1thyʌ-pʌ* ***1tʌ***
after house=DEF big-NOM **become**
'The house will become big (when they're done adding to it).'

b. *1khi* *ə̀mtsi* ***1tʌ-tsʌ*** *1mo*
3(SG) doctor **become-CONT** COP
'He is becoming a doctor (in training to become a doctor).'

In inchoatives the verb *1tʌ-pʌ* inflects for aspect. In (4.22) the suffix *-tsi* indicates perfective aspect. In (4.23 a) the bare stem *1tʌ* indicates non-first person future/irrealis modality. In (4.23 b) the verb stem plus *-tsʌ* suffix indicate continuous aspect. For a more thorough discussion regarding aspect in Manange, refer to the next section.

Negation of most copular clauses (except equationals) in Manange is formed by the addition of the negative prefix *a-* to a suppletive verbal morpheme *re*.[3] The negative never prefixes to *1mo* or *1mu*. *1mo* and the evidential *1mu* optionally follow *1a-re*, but frequently disappear in connected speech or rapid elicitation speech. The morpheme *re* can alternate with [ɾʌ] in rapid speech. It does not appear in any environments other than in negated copulas. Currently it is treated as an additional copula which functions only to take negation, although this analysis is uncertain. For now I will assume that the negative morpheme *a-* prefixes to *re*, as it prefixes to other verbs in the language, although it is possible that *1a-re* may be a lexicalised whole. Examples of negation in copulas are shown in (4.24 a-c):

(4.24) a. *4thin=ko* *1thyʌ-pʌ* ***1a-re*** *1mo*
house=DEF big **NEG-COP** COP
'The house is not big.'

b. *1u=ri* *1kye=ri* *4mye* ***1a-re*** *1mo*
DIST=LOC field=LOC cow **NEG-COP** COP
'There is no cow in the field.'

c. *(1ŋʌ=yuŋ)* *kò̀la* ***1a-re*** *1mo*
(1(SG)=COMIT) child **NEG-COP** COP
'I do not have a child.'

The morpheme *1hin* is used in negated equationals, as example (4.25) shows:

(4.25) *1khi* *ə̀mtsi* ***1a-hin***
3(SG) doctor **NEG-COP**
'She is not a doctor.'

In rapid speech the glottal fricative becomes a palatal glide, sounding like:

(4.26) [a.jɪ̀]

---

[3] For a description of negation on lexical predicates in Manange, refer to §4.6

This morpheme may be cognate with the Chantyal stative copula *ɦin*, (Noonan 2003a) and perhaps even with the Tibetan evidential *yin*. Its use in Manange is restricted to negated equationals, but it shows more of the morphosyntactic properties of lexical verbs than *1mo* does. For example, I have one text example of *1hin* occuring in both a negated and a non-negated clause:

(4.27) *tòlʌ* *lʌ̀tuŋ,*
in.fact in.fact

2shiŋ yâlka ***1a-hin-pʌ-ni,***
wood branch **NEG-COPNOM-ADV**

1shew=ko *3sru* ***1hin-tse*** ***no,***
deer=DEF horn **COP-tse** *
'In fact, it was not a branch, but was a deer's horn.' (Boy Dog Frog)

In this example, *hin* is negated (in the second line of the text) and then is nominalised and suffixed with the adverbial subordinator *-ni*. This is the same morphological behaviour of other active lexical verbs as well as the copula *1mo*. This is also not the morphological behaviour of the negative suppletive copula *1a-re*. In the third line of (4.27) *1hin* occurs without the negative prefix, and is suffixed with *-tse*. I am not sure what this *-tse* suffix is, but it is one that has never been evidenced on *a-re*.

As line 3 of example (4.27) shows, *1hin* may also occur in non-negative contexts. I have a couple of other elicited sentences (all equationals) with *1hin* functioning as the copula in such a non-negative context (the first two are elicitations based on example 4.27 above):

(4.28) *1khi=tse* *2tso=ko* *ŋì̀mu=lʌ* *2cocong*
3(SG)=ERG PROX=DEF mouse=GEN similar

1hin *1mi* *3pi* *1mi*
COP EVID say EVID
'He thought that it was a mouse-like sound.'

(4.29) *2tso=ko ŋoto* *pûkri=lʌ* *1kye* ***1hin*** *1mi*
PROX=DEF truelysnake=GEN sound **COP** EVID
'It was actually/really a snake-like sound.'

(4.30) *4phʌ=ko* *ten* *3pye=ko* *2pe?* *2che-pʌ*
husband=DEF CONJ wife=DEF very intimate-NOM

3sro ***1hin*** *1mi*
friend **COP** EVID
'The husband and wife were very close friends.'

At this time, I can speculate that *1hin* is a second copula in Manange, used in equational copular clauses. However, *1mo* shows up more frequently in non-negated equationals than

does *1hin*, in both elicited and text settings. Because both copulas are possible, at this time my analysis is one of free variation; in non-negated equational copular constructions, both *1hin* and *1mo* may alternate. In negated equationals, *1a-hin* is used.

When inchoative copulas are negated, *a-* prefixes directly to the *1tʌ* stem, as in (4.31):[4]

(4.31) *1khi* *ȧmtsi* ***1a-tʌ-tsi***
3(SG) doctor **NEG-become-PERF**
'He did not become a doctor.'

Because *1mo* does not show aspect morphology, and because it does not show the negative prefix like other verbs, there is the possibility that it may in fact not be a verb. One hypothesis then is that *1mo* is an evidential or existential/locative/possessive morpheme that does not inflect like a lexical verb. I will address this issue again later.

Manange makes use of two evidentials in copular constructions: *1mu* and *a*.[5] The evidential *1mu* is used in situations where knowledge is gained indirectly or where the speaker is not sure of the truth-value of the statement because he/she has not actually witnessed the event/state. *1mu* is used in past and non-past constructions, while *a* is limited to future inchoatives. In contrast, my consultant says that *a* is like Nepali *hola* 'maybe' and is translated as 'maybe I/you/he will X/be X.' This suggests that the future evidential might be thought of as more of a periphrastic or adverbial means of expressing uncertainty about a future state or event, rather than as true grammaticised evidential morphology like *1mu*.

The particle *a* may occur following *1tʌ* 'become,' or any other lexical verb. The evidential *1mu*, on the other hand, only follows the copula verb *1mo*. The fact that *1mo* may be followed by *1mu*, but is not replaced by it, is evidence against *1mo* being an evidential particle, and for its status as a copular verb. Examples are provided in (4.32 and 4.33):

(4.32) ***1mu***

a. *1mriŋ=ko* *aputi* *1mo* **1mu**
woman=DEF childless COP **EVID**
'The woman is/was childless (possibly).'

b. *1khimi=yuŋ* *1ŋʌ* *kȯla* *1mo* **1mu**
3(PL)=COMIT five child COP **EVID**
'They have/had five children (I think, but haven't seen them all myself).'

(4.33) ***a***

a. *khuriŋ* *1khimi=yuŋ* *2ŋi*
next.year 3(PL)=COMIT seven

---

[4] The particles *a*, *nʌ*, and *ro* appear to be a-tonal. They are often pronounced with a low falling pitch, but this may be attributable to their positioning at the end of an intonation unit.

[5] The evidential *ko* also shows up occasionally following nominalised copulas. I discuss *ko* in §4.4.1.

kò̀la=tse *1tʌ* **a**
child=PL become **maybe**
'Maybe by next year they will have seven children.'

b. *1khi* *à̀mtsi* *1tʌ* **a**
3(SG) doctor become **maybe**
'Maybe he will become a doctor.'

c. *nè̀se* *3khi* *3yʌ* **a**
tomorrow 3(SG) go **maybe**
'Maybe he will go tomorrow.'

4.4 Finite verb morphology

Finite verbs in Manange do not show person or number marking, nor do they show any kind of directional marking. In addition, there are no valency changing affixes on the verbs, although the verb *11ʌ* functions in morphological causatives in a serial verb construction to signal valency changes. I will return to valency marking in Manange with respect to causation strategies in §4.7.

4.4.1 Evidentials

The distribution of evidential morphology in Manange depends upon the tense-aspect of the clause and on whether the clause involves first or non-first person. The non-first past and perfective evidential is *mi*.[6] *mi* is analyzed as a free morpheme because Class B verb stems do not undergo place-of-articulation assimilation with the C1 onset. While Manange does not show evidence of a conjunct/disjunct pattern in its verb morphology (see Hale 1980; DeLancey 1989), *1mi* is commonly used as a signal by the speaker that the information being conveyed in the clause was gained indirectly. Examples are shown in (4.34 a-d):

(4.34) a. *1khi* *1khur* **1mi**
3(SG) fall EVID
'He fell down.' (I saw him lying on the ground, with blood on him.)

b. *3kyʌ* *1khi=lʌ* *4thin=ri* *1yʌ* **1mi**
2(SG) 3(SG)=GEN house=LOC go EVID
'You went to his house.' (I know because you weren't home when I called.)

In addition, my consultant also includes the particle *nʌ* after *1mi*, as in (4.35)

(4.35) *3kyʌ* *1khi=lʌ* *4thin=ri* *1yʌ* **1mi** **nʌ**
2(SG) 3(SG)=GEN house=LOC go **EVID** **EVID**
'You went to his house.'

---

[6] The evidential *mi* has an alternate *mu* which occurs after the copula *mo*, reflecting a vowel-harmony process.

My consultant says that *nʌ* is optional and that with or without it the sentence still means that the speaker has circumstantial evidence of this action.

As was mentioned, the evidential *1mi* does not occur in first-person contexts. For first-person perfective clauses, there doesn't seem to be any morphologised way of signaling type of evidence or degree of certainty about an event or state. Therefore, a statement like 'I fell', regardless of whether or not the speaker was sure of the falling (e.g. unconscious and doesn't remember), is marked the same, with the perfective suffix:

(4.36) *1ŋʌ* *1khur-tsi*
1(SG) fall-PERF
'I fell.' (either I'm certain or I'm not certain.)

The sentence in (4.36) can also be a question, as in 'did I fall?', with a change in intonation, but no change in morphology.

This does not mean that first person clauses never show any type of evidential morphology. The particle *a* (discussed below) may be used in first-person clauses in future/irrealis contexts. The evidential particle ***nʌ*** may also occur in first person clauses in situations of future uncertainty, as in:

(4.37) a. *1ŋʌ* *4phlo-pʌ* *1tʌ-pʌ* **nʌ**
1(SG) rich-NOM become-NOM **EVID**
'I will be rich (I think, when you see me again).'

b. *1ŋʌ* *1yʌ-pʌ* **nʌ**
1(SG) go-NOM **EVID**
'I will go (I think).'

In future/irrealis constructions, the particle *a* 'maybe' is used, as (4.38 a-b) show:

(4.38) a. *1khimi* *1yʌ* **a**
3(PL) go **maybe**
'Maybe they will go.'

b. *1mriŋ=ko* *tshimra* *2kyaŋ=ko* *1ʈul* **a**
woman=DEF herb pastry=DEF roll **maybe**
'Maybe the woman will roll out the pastry.'

Manange also has a reported speech particle *ro*. It signals that the information being conveyed in the clause comes from another source, rather than being deduced by the speaker. *ro* occurs frequently in stories and legends, but also occurs in elicitation when the information being conveyed in a proposition is viewed as gained through a reported speech situation, as the examples below show:

(4.39) a. Narrative

1khim=ko=tse *4shi* *phôlpʌ=ko* *boʈʌl* *3naŋ=ri*
3(PL)=DEF=ERG one frog=DEF bottle inside=LOC

1tshaŋ *1mi* **ro**
keep EVID **REP**
'They kept that frog inside of a bottle.' (Boy Dog Frog)

b. Elicitation

à̀ŋye=ko *háyuŋ* *1ŋyʌŋ* *4thin=ri* *1khʌ-pʌ* **ro**
sister=DEF when 1(PL.GEN) house=LOC come-NOM **REP**
'When will your sister come to our house?' ('When is she reported to come?')

An additional evidential in Manange is the particle *ko*. At this point, I have not established the morphological status of *ko* when it functions as an evidential. Phonetically, it is often reduced to [kə], suggesting that it may be bound. It also shows reduced stress, but as evidential *ko* always occurs in reduced-stress environments, such as at the end of a clause/sentence/intonation unit (I.U.), this is not definitive evidence towards its bound status. Some examples follow:

(4.40) a. *1khi=tse* *kôla=tse* *2shu-pʌ* **ko**
3(SG)=ERG clothing=PL wash-NOM **EVID**
'She will wash the clothes.'

b. *1khi* *4khe=ri* *1yʌ-pʌ* **ko**
3(SG) work=LOC go-NOM **EVID**
'He will go to work.'

c. *ah* *3tʌŋ-pʌ* *3tʌŋ-pʌ* *3ya* *kʌ́tti* *1mo* *ro*
ah ancient-NOM ancient-NOM yak many COP REP

ʌ̀tse *3ya* *kʌ́tti* *mo-pʌ* **ko**
like.this yak many COP-NOM **EVID**

3ya *kʌ́tti* *1mo-pʌ* **ko** *ten*
yak many COP-NOM **EVID** then
'A long time ago, there were many yaks; like this, there were many yaks, there were (too) many yaks.' (Yak Buff)

As these examples show, *ko* always follows nominalizing morphology (*-pʌ*) on the main verb of the clause. As the first two examples also suggest, it seems that *ko* only occurs in 'future' time constructions (which is what *-pʌ* marking at the clause level often conveys in Manange). Indeed, my consultants never use *ko* in perfective constructions in elicited settings. However, the third example, *ko* occurs in the opening lines of a legend, which the author appears to be setting up as an event that occurred a long time ago. In this sense, *ko* also occurs in 'past' time constructions, albeit only in narrative settings.

My consultants describe the function of *ko* as marking an event which is somehow 'checked and confirmed' or an event which can be 'pointed to' in some way. In this sense, it appears that the *=ko* definite clitic and the *ko* evidential may be syncretic.

It is common to see the 'grammatical extension' of postpositions into subordinating markers in Tibeto-Burman languages (Genetti 1991). Here, as in the case of the movement from postpositional markers into subordinating morphology, the syncretism between definite *=ko* and evidential *ko* is interesting in that whatever grammatical change there may be, it is not clear that there is a movement from a lexical status to a more grammatical status here. On the other hand, not all views of grammaticisation are those in which movement is from lexical to grammatical. For Hopper (1987), all changes within a language's grammar can be potentially considered as types of grammaticisation.

4.4.2 Aspect

Tense is not explicitly morphologised in Manange; rather, Manange shows morphology for both perfective and imperfective aspect. First I describe perfective aspect, and then imperfective. Perfective aspect is signaled by the suffix *-tsi*, as examples (4.41 a-b) show:[7]

(4.41) a. *à̀le=ko* *2kyu-**tsi***
boy=DEF ran-**PERF**
'The boy ran/they boy has run (by now).'

b. *1khimi* *1tsʌ-**tsi***
3(PL) eat-**PERF**
'They ate/they have eaten (by now).'

As (4.41 a and b) also show, there is no grammatical distinction between perfect and perfective, and consultants accept both translations (however see §4.7 for a discussion of perfect aspect in bi-clausal causation). The morphophonemic behavior of Class B verb stems with the perfective suffix is evidence that it is bound.

The perfective suffix *-tsi* is in complementary distribution with the perfective evidential *1mi*, and the two morphemes never occur together in the same clause.

There is a split in imperfective morphology in Manange. A verb stem + *1mo* construction may be interpreted as present tense or present non-continuous imperfective, while a verb stem suffixed with *-tse* and followed by *1mo* is interpreted as continuous imperfective and may refer to any tense. I first describe general imperfectives, and then move on to continuous imperfective constructions. Examples of the general present and habitual imperfective are shown in (4.42-4.43) below:

(4.42) Present Imperfective

a. *1khi* *1sre* **1mo**[8]
3(SG) stand **COP**
'She stands/gets up.'

b. *kò̀la=ko=tse* *khʌ́nʈe* *1tsʌ* **1mo**
child=DEF=ERG candy eat **COP**
'The child eats the candy.'

---

[7] Refer to §5.5.2 for a discussion of intra-clausal perfective aspect marking with *lʌ-tse* clause chaining.

[8] A common elicitation form of general imperfectives is verb-*pʌ* *1mo*, but this nominaliser on the verb stems is frequently unexpressed. The copula *1mo*, however, is not optionally unexpressed.

(4.43) Habitual

a. *lkhi* *lchen* *lthaŋ=ri* *lʈu* *lmo*
3(SG) always floor=LOC sit **COP**
'He always sits on the floor.'

b. *nâni* *lchen* *lkra* **lmo**
child always cry **COP**
'The child always cries.'

As examples (4.43 a-b) show, the habituality of the actions is marked lexically, with the adverb *lchen* 'always.'

As previously stated, continuous imperfective aspect is marked in Manange by the continuous suffix *-tse* on the verb stem, followed by the copula *lmo*. The status of the morpheme *-tse* as a suffix is shown by the place of articulation assimilation process in Class B verb stems. In addition, *-tse* often reduces to *-tsʌ* in rapid speech. Examples are provided in (4.44 a-c):

(4.44) a. *lkhimi* *lyʌ-tse* *lmo*
3(PL) **go-CONT** **COP**
'They are going.'

b. *iden=tse* *mina=ri* **lprin-tse** *lmo*
Eden=ERG Mina=LOC **hit-CONT** **COP**
'Eden is hitting Mina.'

c. *3kyʌ* *lthaŋ=ri* *lʈu-tsu* *lmo*
2(SG) floor=LOC **sit-CONT** **COP**
'You are sitting on the floor.'

Note that in example (c) the continuous suffix is represented as *-tsu*. It seems that *-tse* and *-tsu* are allomorphs in free variation. One hypothesis is to argue that *-tsu* is morphophonemically conditioned by the verb stem vowel, as (4.44 c) suggests. However, my consultant has provided me with other *-tsu* continuous constructions where the verb stem does not have a high back vowel. In addition, I have also elicited *-tse* constructions where the stem vowel does have a high back vowel. Examples of these are shown in (4.45 a-b):

(4.45) a. *lŋʌ* *lkra-tsu* *lmo*
1(SG) **cry-CONT** COP
'I am always crying.'

b. *lkhi=tse* *lchen* *kôla* *lsru-tse* *lmo*
3(SG)=ERG always clothes **wash-CONT** COP
'She is always washing the clothes.'

As a result, my current analysis for *-tse* and *-tsu* is one of free variation; either form is possible with a given verb.

The imperfective aspect in Manange is not inflected for tense. Rather, time is shown analytically, by the addition of temporal adverbials such as *nèse* 'tomorrow,' *tele* 'yesterday' and others. Examples are shown in (4.46 a-b):

(4.46) a. ***tèle*** *1ŋʌ* *3kra-tsu* *1mo*
yesterday 1(SG) cry-CONT COP
'Yesterday I was crying (but not today).'

b. ***tìŋi*** ***múntse*** *1khi=tse* *kôla* *2sru-tsu* *1mo*
today **night** 3(SG)=ERG clothes wash-CONT COP
'Tonight she will be washing the clothes.'

The durative imperfective aspect in Manange is often marked by my consultant with continuous morphology, as shown in (4.47 a-b):

(4.47) a. *1ŋʌ* *nàraŋ* *khʌ̀nte* *1tsʌ-tse* **1mo**
1(SG) before candy **eat-CONT** **COP**
'I kept eating candy (until I became ill).'

b. *1khimi* *yûŋpʌ=tse* *4khyen=ri* ***1khya-tse*** **1mo**
3(PL) stone=PL road=LOC **throw-CONT** **COP**
'They keep throwing stones into the road.'

However, I do have some examples where my consultant uses a serial verb construction, shown in (4.48) to mark durative aspect:[9]

(4.48) *1khimi* *yûŋpʌ=tse* *4khyen=ri* **1khya** *ʈu-pʌ*
3(PL) stone=PL road=LOC **throw** **sit/stay-NOM**
'(Unless I stop them) they will keep throwing stones into the road.'

Iteratives or punctuals are also marked with progressive morphology, as (4.49 a and b) show:

(4.49) a. *1ŋʌ* ***1khi-tse*** **1mo**
1(SG) **sneeze-CONT** **COP**
'I am/was sneezing (repeatedly).'

b. *1ŋʌ* *1lo* ***1khʌ-tse*** **1mo**
1(SG) cough **come-CONT** **COP**
'I am/was coughing (repeatedly).'

Before discussing modality, one final note regarding *1mo* is worth mentioning. As was discussed, this copular verb appears in both copular clauses, and in imperfective active verbal complexes. However, it does not show the full range of inflectional affixes that other verbs show. In addition, *1mo* seems to occur infrequently in connected speech, if one uses the text in Chapter 6 as a basis for discourse-frequency. This would suggest that *1mo* is in fact not a copula. However, as was also mentioned, *1mo* does show some of the

[9] For more discussion on serial verbs in Manange, refer to §5.4

inflectional morphology that other verbs show. In addition, its distribution in other recorded and transcribed texts shows that *1mo* in fact is used with a fair degree of frequency. For example, one other text ("Boy Dog Frog") shows ten occurrences of *1mo* in copular/stative and active clauses throughout the text, with different types of inflectional morphemes present. An example is shown here:

(4.50) *ʌ̀tse- --*
after- --

ten ten 3por 1yʌ=,
then then take go=

ah 4thin-ri 1then **1mo** *ro.*
ah house-LOC keep **be** REP
'Having brought (the frog) home, they keep it (in a bottle in the house).'

This example shows *1mo* in a general imperfective construction, followed by the reported speech evidential. Because *1mo* does occur with greater frequency in other texts, and because it does have some structural similarities to other lexical verbs, I will continue to analyze it as a copular verb at ths time.

4.5 Modality

4.5.1 Future and realis/irrealis

As first discussed in Chapter 3, Manange shows evidence of a realis/irrealis distinction. What would otherwise be called 'future tense' in Manange is better categorised under irrealis mood. Evidence for this comes from the lack of ergative case marking on the transitive A's in irrealis mood. The ergative clitic in Manange appears on all transitive A's, regardless of the volitionality of the A. An example such as (4.51) below is acceptable to all of my consultants:

(4.51) ***1mriŋ=tse*** *náka 2phuŋ 2khol-tsi*
woman=ERG chicken egg boil-PERF
'The woman boiled/has boiled the egg.'

The ergative marker is also acceptable on transitive imperfectives, including habituals and progressives.

It is not acceptable for most of my consultants however on the A argument of future transitives, as (4.52) shows:[10]

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[10] I say 'most' because there appears to be speaker variation in judgement of the acceptability of the ergative marker in futures. My primary consultant finds the ergative marker acceptable on all transitive constructions, regardless of aspect or modality. My other consultants however find the ergative marker in future/irrealis constructions to be unacceptable.

(4.52) *1mriŋ*=tse* *náka* *2phuŋ* *2khol(-pʌ)*
woman*=**ERG** chicken egg boil(-NOM)
'The woman will boil the egg.'

This suggests a split in how aspect is viewed with regard to futures and other such modals.

For my primary consultant, future modals which are in the first person show either the *-pʌ* nominaliser, or a different suffix *-tso*. Example (4.53) illustrates this:

(4.53) *1ŋʌ* *1yʌ-pʌ/tso*
1(SG) go-NOM/FUT
'I will go.'

However, both of my other consultants prefer to use the *-pʌ* nominaliser on futures and do not accept or recognise *-tso*. According to my primary consultant, both suffixes serve the same function of predicting the future event. I hypothesise that there may be a functional difference between the two suffixes, and that *-tso* implies a greater level of personal obligation concerning the event and may in fact be a different type of hortative modal suffix. However, these forms need further examination before a stronger argument can be formed.

Another modal construction found in Manange is what Bybee et al. (1994) call the 'immediate future.' However, since I don't see a true, morphologically marked future distinction in Manange, I will refer to these structures as simply 'immediates.' Immediates in Manange serve generally the same function that the immediate future does cross-linguistically by marking an event as imminent or as just about to begin. It is not a true inceptive, as the action has not yet actually begun, but suggests that it will definitely happen within a very short period of time. Examples are shown in (4.54 a-c):

(4.54) a. *1ŋʌ* *1yʌ-pi* *1lʌ-tsi*
1(SG) **go-IMM** **do**-PERF
'I prepared/was about to go.'

b. *1khi* *nyùkyu=ko=ri* *1pho-pi* *1lʌ-tsi*
3(SG) dog=DEF=LOC **beat-IMM** **do**-PERF
'He was about to beat the dog.'

c. *3kyʌ* *kôla=ri* *2sru-pi* *1lʌ* *1mo*
2(SG) clothes=LOC **wash-IMM** **do** COP
'You are about to/prepare to wash the clothes.'

As example (c) shows, immediates can be further framed temporally by aspect or modal (nominalizing) morphology. The lack of ergative marking on A's however suggests that the argument marking on these constructions operates on a level of modality rather than on aspect.

Immediates also have the ubiquitous verb *1lʌ* 'do' as their main verb. It is my analysis that the use of *1lʌ* in immediates places the entire imminent action within a frame of aspect, namely perfective aspect. The resulting interpretation of an immediate construction then is that the action as a complete whole is about to begin. This is similar to other

analyses of immediates in Tibeto-Burman languages, such as in Chepang (Caughley 1982). For more discussion on the aspectual function of *1lʌ* in periphrastic causatives and in perfective recapitulations, refer to §4.7.1 and §5.5, respectively.

Turning to other moods in Manange, desideratives are formed by the verb stems *saŋ* 'like/want' and *3khʌ* 'come,' in a serial construction, which in turn follow the nominalised main verb. This is shown in (4.55 a-b):

(4.55) a. *1ŋʌ* *4nu-pʌ* *3saŋ* *1khʌ* *1mo*
1(SG) **sleep-NOM** **want** **come** COP
'I want to sleep.'

b. *1khi* *4nu-pʌ* *3saŋ* *1khʌ* *1mo*
3(SG) **sleep-NOM** **want** **come** COP
'He wants to sleep.'

My consultant gives the literal translation as 'The desire to sleep comes to me.' Curiously, there is no locative marking on the subject argument. Note also that desideratives are also irrealis, and that the lexical verb is nominalised.

Deontics are formed with the verb *3yaŋ*, which translates roughly as 'should' or 'must.' This verb follows what I analyze as a serial verb construction in which the second verb is always *1lʌ* 'do.' Examples are shown below:

(4.56) a. *1khi* *4nu* *1lʌ* *3yaŋ* *1mo*
3(SG) **sleep** **do** **DEONTIC** COP
'He should/must sleep.'

b. *1ŋʌ* *1shʌ* *1tsʌ* *1lʌ* *3yaŋ* *1mo*
1(SG) meat **eat** **do** **DEONTIC** COP
'I should/must eat the meat.'[11]

In elicited environments, my consultants do not analyze the morpheme *1lʌ* as 'do;' instead, they identify it only as part of the larger construction of deontics, suggesting it has fully morphologised from a lexical item into a grammatical verbal particle.

Potentials (abilitatives) are formed by the verb stems *1lʌ* 'do' and *4khyeen* 'able,' which follow the main verb stem. *4khyeen* 'able' takes aspect morphology. (4.57) provides examples:

(4.57) a. *1ŋʌ* *4khwe* *1priin* *1lʌ* *4khyeen* *1mo*
1(SG) song **hit** **do** **able** COP
'I am able to sing.'

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[11] Again, deontics in Manange do not show ergative marking on the A argument, even when the main verb is normally interpreted as transitive in other uses (i.e. the A argument of *1tsʌ* 'eat' usually shows the ergative clitic *=tse*), suggesting that these constructions also fall under the time-system umbrella of modality, under which futurity and immediate constructions are also located.

b. *1ŋʌ* *2kyu* *11ʌ* *4khyeen=tsi*
1(SG) **run** **do** **able=PERF**
'I was able to run.'

Again, note that ergative marking does not appear on transitive A arguments of both potentials and deontics, suggesting their membership in the category of irrealis mood.

4.5.2 Imperatives, permissives and hortatives

Other constructions in Manange that do not show aspectual marking include directives such as imperatives, permissives and hortatives. I will provide descriptions for each one.

Imperatives are formed by the addition of either the *-ro* or *-no* suffix to the verb stem. For the most part, the addition of the *-no* suffix is morphophonemically determined. By and large, nasal stem verb classes such as *1kom-pʌ* 'put on,' *1tsem-pʌ* 'get out,' and *1tshim-pʌ* 'catch' use the *-no* suffix. Examples are found in (4.58 a-c):

(4.58) a. *1ko-no*
put.on-IMPER
'Put (it) on!'

b. *1tse-no*
get.out-IMPER
'Get out!'

c. *1tshi-no*
catch-IMPER
'Catch (it)!'

This pattern is not entirely regular, however. A very common n-stem verb like *1piin* 'give' takes a *-ko* imperative suffix, shown in (4.59)

(4.59) *1ŋʌ=ri* *3piŋ-ko*
1(SG)=LOC give-IMPER
'Give (it) to me!'

It is the only n-stem verb that takes this suffix.[12]

Given that n-stems (Class B verbs) end in the coda segment that assimilates in place to the onset of the suffix *-no*, it would be expected that *1tshiin* 'catch,' for example, would show gemination at the morpheme boundary and would be represented as (4.60) phonetically:

(4.60) [tsʰin.no] 'catch!'

However, there are no other attested instances of gemination in the language. A constraint blocking gemination is then posited, which prevents the coda /n/ in *1tshi* [+nasal] 'catch' from picking up the segmental features from the following imperative suffix.

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[12] I have also heard *1po* used for the imperative of *1piin* 'give'

Most other verbs show the *-ro* imperative suffix, as in example (4.61):

(4.61) *lu=ri* *lyʌ-ro*
DIST=LOC go-IMPER
'Go over there!' (Yak Buff)

There is some additional irregularity in the Manange imperative paradigm. A handful of commonly used verbs do not show a suffix. Rather, they undergo a stem vowel change for the imperative. They are shown in (4.62):

(4.62)

Non-Imperative		*Imperative*	
lkhʌ	'come'	*lkho*	'come!'
ltsʌ	'eat'	*ltso*	'eat!'
lʈu	'sit'	*lʈo*	'sit!'
llʌ	'do'	*llo*	'do (it)!'

That these verbs are so common in the language is in itself an explanation for their suppletion in the imperative mood. A different analysis has been offered by Noonan (2003b and pers. comm.), that of a process of fusion of the imperative suffix with the verb stem. In his grammar of Nar-Phu, Noonan transcribes stem-alternating imperatives with a final velar off-glide, as in:

(4.63) *kyâŋ* ***lâw***
reach **do**
'Reach for it!'

Noonan argues that the presence of the off-glide suggests the presence of an /o/-final imperative suffix (e.g. *-no*, *-ro*) at an earlier stage in the language. This suffix over time (and through high frequency use, presumably) has fused with the stem, but has left the offglide as evidence of its earlier presence.

In elicitations, I have not heard the off-glide on these fused imperative forms from any of my consultants. One possible reason for this is that the fusion of the suffix in Manange imperatives may have happened at an earlier time and the labio-velar glide has since disappeared. Another possible analysis is that the phonotactic constraints in Manange disprefer /ow/ segments.

Permissives in Manange are analytic in structure and are formed by the addition of the verb *lpim-pʌ* 'give' along with imperative morphology, which in turn follows the main verb + *llʌ* 'do' serial verb construction. Examples are shown in (4.64 a-b):

(4.64) a. *lkhi=ri* **lyʌ** **lʌ** *lpin-no*
3(SG)=LOC **go** **do** give-2/3IMPER
'Let him/her go!'

b. *lŋʌ=ri* **llʌ** **lʌ** *lpiŋ-ko*
1(SG)=LOC **do** **do** give-1IMPER
'Let me do it!'

The use of 'give' in permissives is well attested in cross-linguistically (see Newman 1996). In addition, this structure mirrors Nepali permissives (e.g. *jana* ***diyo*** 'let him go!').

Hortatives show the same morphology as the first person future constructions that my primary consultant has provided me with (4.4.1). They both show the suffix *-tso* on the verb, suggesting that in fact they may be serving the same function. Examples are shown below:

(4.65) a. *1tsʌ-tso*
eat-**HORT**
'Let's eat.'

b. *1ʃu-tso*
sit-**HORT**
'Let's sit/rest.'

With hortatives that involve verbs of motion, my consultant uses an additional morpheme *1cho*. She translates this morpheme as 'go,' but my only analysis of it currently is that it marks motion involved in resulting action. Examples are shown:

(4.66) a. *3kyʌ=lʌ* *pòli* ***1cho*** ***1ca-tso***
2(SG)=GEN shoe **motion** **search-HORT**
'Let's look for your shoes.'

b. ***1cho*** ***1yʌ-tso***
motion **go-HORT**
'Let's go.'

1cho does not appear with some verbs in the hortative mood, such as *4nu* 'sleep' or *1tshaŋ* 'keep/retain.' Additionally, *1cho* does not show the negative prefix *a-* when hortatives are negated, suggesting it is not a verbal element.

4.6 Negation

Negation on lexical verbs in Manange is signaled by the addition of the prefix *a-* to the verb stem. In negatives, the verb takes the usual aspect suffixes, or shows morphology which co-occurs with 'future' modals. (4.67 a-e) provides examples:

(4.67) a. *1khi* *4khwe* ***1a-priin***
3(SG) song **NEG-hit(FUT)**
'She will not sing a song.'

or

b. *1khi* *4khwe* ***1a-prim-pʌ***
3(SG) song **NEG-sing-NOM**
'She will not sing a song.'

c. *1mriŋ=ko* *kʰola* ***3a-nʌ-tsi***
woman=DEF child **NEG-give.birth-PERF**
'The woman did not give birth.'

d. *1khi* *pʰoli* ***1a-koon*** ***1mo***
3(SG) shoes **NEG-wear** **COP**
'He does not wear shoes.'

e. *1khi* ***1a-yʌ*** ***1mi***
3(SG) **NEG-go** **EVID**
'He didn't go (I don't think).'

4.7 Valency adjustment

In §4.7.1 I describe one type of valency increasing: morphological causatives. I also describe other causative strategies in Manange. In §4.7.2 I turn to reflexives and reciprocals in Manange, which are signalled analytically.

4.7.1 Causation

Manange shows two strategies of causation, periphrastic (bi-clausal) and morphological. However, as most causation in Manange is signaled lexically (either by the use of a different lexical verb or by no change in the verb at all) I will briefly describe these other strategies before moving on to describe the other two strategies.

As was stated, the most common causation strategy in Manange is lexical. The following list of verbs in (4.68) illustrates the first strategy of lexical causation in Manange, showing both non-causative verbs and their causative counterparts:

(4.68)

Non-Causative		*Causative*	
1shi	'die'	*1se*	'kill'
2shu	'bathe'[13]	*1phya*	'clean something'
4phro	'move'	*4kher*	'move something'

Other verbs in Manange such as *1kro* 'burn' and *2khol* 'boil' appear to have no morphological or lexical difference evident in the verbal complex with respect to causation, as (4.69 a and b) show:

(4.69)

Intransitive			*Transitive*		
1kyu	*2khol-tsi*		*1ŋʌ=tse*	*2kyu=ko*	*2khol-tsi*
water	boil-PERF		1(SG)=ERG	**water=DEF**	boil-PERF
'The water boiled.'			'I boiled the water.'		
1ŋʌ=lʌ	*1ya*	*1kro-tsi*	*1ŋʌ=*tse	**3ŋʌ=lʌ**	*1ya*	*1kro-tsi*
1(SG)=GEN	hand	burn-PERF	1=ERG	**1(SG)=GEN**	**hand**	burn-PERF
'My hand burned.'			'I burned my hand.'			

[13] *2shu* can also mean 'to wash a part of one's body,' like the face.

The only evidence of causation in the transitive examples of (4.69) is the presence of an ergative-marked causer (underlined) and an absolutive-marked causee (in boldface).

As the comparison of the transitive and intransitive counterparts in (4.69) shows, the morphological structure of the verb complex containing *2khol* 'boil' and *1kro* 'burn' remains the same while the casemarking on the arguments reveals the increased transitivity of the clause.

Morphological causatives are so defined because they involve a (productive) derivational change in the form of the verb (Comrie 1985). In this case, the derivational change is the addition of the grammaticised verb stem *11ʌ* 'do,' which follows the main verb of the non-causative clause. To illustrate this, (4.70 a-e) below shows first some examples of some intransitive verb-like adjectives and intransitive lexical verbs:

(4.70) a. *3cʌ 11e-tsi*
tea warm-PERF
'The tea was warm.'

b. *kò̀sho 1te-tsi*
cup fall-PERF
'The cup fell.'

c. *kò̀sho 1ki-tsi*
cup break-PERF
'The cup broke.'

d. *kò̀la=ko=lʌ 1ya=ko 2tha-tsi*
child=DEF=GEN hand=DEF cut-PERF
'The child's hand was cut.'

e. *kò̀la=ko mà̀kʌ 1tʌ-tsi*
child=DEF wound become-PERF
'The child became wounded/hurt.'

To form a causative from verb-like adjective or intransitive lexical verb such as these, *11ʌ* 'do' is added as the second element in the verbal complex, as examples (4.71 a-e) show:

(4.71) a. *1ŋʌ=tse 3cʌ 11e* **1ʌ-tsi**
1SG=ERG tea **warm** **do-PERF**
'I made the tea warm/warmed the tea.'

b. *1mriŋ=ko=tse kò̀sho 1te* **1ʌ-tsi**
woman=DEF=ERG cup **fall** **do-PERF**
'The woman dropped the cup.'

c. *1mriŋ=ko=tse kò̀sho* **1ki** **1ʌ-tsi**
woman=DEF=ERG cup **break** **do-PERF**
'The woman broke the cup.'

d. *kò̀la=ko=tse* *1khi=lʌ* *1ya=ko* **2tha** **lʌ-tsi**
child=DEF=ERG 3(SG)=GEN hand=DEF **cut** **do-PERF**
'The child cut his hand.'

e. *3mi=ko=tse* *kò̀la=ko=ri* *màkʌ*
person=DEF=ERG child=DEF=LOC wound

1tʌ ***lʌ-tsi***
become **do-PERF**
'The man wounded/hurt the child.'

With the presence of *11ʌ* in a serial verb construction (in boldface), there is now an ergative marked causer (underlined) and an absolutive (or locative-marked for animate patients) marked causee in each of the examples above.

I consider the use of *11ʌ* 'do' in morphological causatives structurally as examples of a serial verb construction because although there are two verbs present, only one event is interpreted from them. None of my consultants find the interpretation of example (4.72 b) for instance 'the woman fell and did' as acceptable For more discussion on verb serialisation in Manange, refer to §5.4.

Morphological causatives are somewhat unproductive in Manange and appear to be restricted to the set of constructions (and a few additional) that I have presented above. Far more commonly found is the periphrastic strategy, also involving *11ʌ* 'do', which I will now describe.

Periphrastic (also called analytic or syntactic) causatives are so defined in that the predicate of causation is structurally separate from the predicate that is affected by the causative predicate (Comrie 1985). The verb *11ʌ* 'do' is also used in the Manange periphrastic causative construction. In these types of causatives, the clause containing *11ʌ* is always preposed (in a bi-clausal structure) before the clause which is affected by the agent of the causative. In addition, the clause of causation shows the clause chaining suffix *-tse*. Examples are shown in (4.72 a-d):

(4.72) Elicitation

a. ***àmʌ=tse*** ***11ʌ-tse*** *1ŋʌ=tse* *1thaŋ* *1phya-tsi*
mother=ERG **do-CC** 1SG=ERG floor clean-PERF
'My mother made me clean the floor.'

b. ***3mo=tse*** ***11ʌ-tse*** *mîɲto=ko* *1thyʌ-pʌ* *1tʌ-tsi*
rain=ERG **do-CC** flower=DEF big-NOM become-PERF
'The rain caused the flower to grow/become big.'

c. ***nyûkyū=tse*** ***11ʌ-tse*** *1khim=lʌ* *3tsaŋ=ko* *phà.te*
dog=ERG **do-CC** 3(PL)=GEN nest=DEF fall.down

1khʌ *1mi* *ro*
come EVID REP
'The dog caused their (honey bees) nest to come falling down.' (Boy Dog Frog)

d. ***àle=ko=tse*** ***llʌ-tse*** *nâni* *lkra-tsi*
boy=DEF=ERG **do-CC** little.girl cry-PERF
'The boy made the little girl cry.'

As example (b) shows, inanimate A's are possible in Manange causatives. And as this construction is bi-clausal, a 'syntacticised' construction, both A's in a causative construction and its transitive affected main clause such as in (a) can show ergative marking.[14] The function of *llʌ* 'do' plus the clause chaining suffix -tse in these constructions appears to be an aspectual, (specifically perfect or anterior) one. The first action, indicated by *llʌ-tse*, is one which occurs prior to the first and also has a kind of current relevance to the second action or event. This idea of a past event with current (causal) relevance is an interpretation of the function of perfect aspect. In §5.5.2 I return to the aspect-marking function of *llʌ-tse* clause chains in narrative recapitulations.

It is interesting to note how the various strategies of causation in Manange relate to the idea of the relationship between structural integration and conceptual integration. As the previous examples have shown, morphological causatives are structurally a much tighter unit, even being described as monoclausal in their morphosyntax. Conversely, periphrastic causatives are much looser in their structural integration, described as the combination of two distinct clauses to form a causative event. Conceptually, these two very different strategies of creating causatives in Manange (as well as in many other languages of the world) may be linked to the degree in which the causer in these strategies is directly involved in the action that brings about the causee's behavior or resulting state. It may be that in periphrastic causatives, there is more of a focus on the result of the causer's actions on the causee than there is on the causer him/herself. These relationships are iconic in that longer linguistic/structural distance (i.e. periphrastic causation) is correlated with greater conceptual distance (Haiman 1983).

4.7.2 Reflexives and reciprocals

For my primary consultant, reflexives and reciprocals are expressed analytically—through the introduction of either a clause (for reflexives) or NP (for reciprocals). In reflexives, the clause *lŋʌ=tse llʌ-tse* 'doing myself' occurs between the A argument and the main verb:

(4.73) Reflexive

lŋʌ *lŋʌ=tse* ***llʌ-tse*** *2tha-tsi*
1(SG) **1(SG)=ERG** **do-CC** cut-PERF
'I cut myself.' (location unspecified)

---

[14] Interestingly, when I first asked for the causative in (4.73 a), my consultant Eden provided me with:

lŋʌ=lʌ *àmʌ=tse* *'lthaŋ* *lphya-ro'* *3pi-tsi*
1(SG)=GEN mother=ERG 'floor clean-IMPER' say-PERF
'My mother said, 'Clean the floor.''

This directive (not containing any form of *llʌ* 'do'), seemed like a causative to my consultant because she said that when her mother gave an order, she just had to follow it. Other consultants agree that this directive form is the most common way to express 'causation' when the agent is a human being who volitionally orders, or causes another human to perform an action. When the agent is not a volitional human, the periphrastic causative is the common construction.

However, I have been told that this is a preferable way to express 'seeing one's self':

(4.74) *1ŋʌ=tse* *mélʌŋ=ri* *1ŋʌ* *1mraŋ-tsi*
1(SG)=ERG mirror=LOC 1(SG) see-PERF
'I saw myself/me in the mirror.'

In (4.73), the first singular pronoun *1ŋʌ* is both the A and the absolutive O argument, with 'mirror' providing the context in which the seeing is done. The same kind of construction is used with 'cutting one's self,' where my consultant says she prefers to explicitly state what she cut ('I cut my hand/foot, etc.'). However, if she just sees blood, but no wound, it is possible to use the construction in (4.74) above.

In reciprocals, the NP , meaning roughly *4shi=tse 4shi=ri* 'one (does) to one', occurs between the A argument and the main verb:

(4.75) Reciprocal

a. *1ŋi* ***4shi=tse*** ***4shi=ri*** *1mraŋ-tsi*
1(PL) **one=ERG** **one=LOC** see-PERF
'We saw each other.'

b. *1phʌ=ko* *ten* *3pye=ko* ***4shi=tse*** ***4shi=ri***
husband=DEF CONJ wife=DEF **one=ERG** **one=LOC**

2pe? *sʌ̂ni* *1lʌ-tsi*
very nice do-PERF
'The husband and wife loved each other.'

In example (4.73) and also (4.75 a and b), the ergative marker *=tse* is not permitted on the A arguments, even though *2tha* 'cut', *1mraŋ* 'see' and *1lʌ* 'do' are all transitive. Thus, it is evident that there is a resulting decrease in valency in these constructions (the subject and the object are the same entity, and so the transitive verb is not affecting two distinct entities).

Another consultant provides a different way of marking reflexives, as in (4.76) below:

(4.76) Alternate Reflexive Construction

(*1ŋʌ*) ***sraŋ=tse*** ***sraŋ=ri*** *2shu-tsi*
(1SG) **REFL=ERG** **REFL=LOC** wash-PERF
'I washed myself.'

This construction is similar to those in (4.76) in that there is a nominal element that takes both the ergative and the locative/patient clitics, but I am not sure of the meaning of *sraŋ* other than what my consultant says is 'self.' What is more, this consultant does not feel entirely comfortable using the construction in (4.77) and preferred instead to give me (4.77) below for the same translation:

(4.77) *1ŋʌ=lʌ* *2li* *1ŋʌ=tse* *2shu-tsi*
1(SG)=GEN face 1(SG)=ERG wash-PERF
'I washed myself/my face.'

The construction in (4.76) above shows no ergative marking on the A argument (the A can even be unexpressed), suggesting a decrease in valency, even though *2shu* 'wash' is transitive, and normally takes an ergative-marked A. The construction in (4.77), on the other hand, does have an ergative-marked A, and is a typical transitive clause with a kind of pseudo-reflexive interpretation.

4.8 Word order of the clause

The constituent ordering in the simple clause in Manange can generally be classified as verb-final; both the intransitive S, as well as the A and O arguments of transitive clauses precede the verb complex (i.e. verb and any auxiliary particles and evidentials). This is the case for all elicited clauses and for most clauses occurring in connected speech.

In some instances of connected speech, the arrangement of constituents in the clause appears to show a VS/OVA ordering, as examples (4.78 a-c) show:

(4.78) a. *2mwe* *3yul=ri* [*tshʌrti-pʌ* *ro,*]
next village=LOC [go.down-NOM REP]
'They went down to the next village.'

[*1khim=ko:*[15]]
[3(PL)=DEF]
'Some of (them) went down to the next village.'

b. [*3pi-tse* *11ʌ-tse*] [*1khim*] *3naŋ=ko=ri* *ten*
[say-CC do-CC] [3(PL)] inside=DEF=LOC then

[*2kre* *11ʌ-tse* *11ʌ-tse*] *ten.*
[decide do-CC do-CC] then

[*3ya:,*
[yak:

tipal=ko.]
some=DEF]
'Having said (this), the yaks inside decided (made a decision).'

c. *tʌnta* *2ki-ra-tse,*
many comfort-**-CC

[*1shʌmle.phre* *1yʌ* *1mi*],
[forget go EVID]

---

[15] Here, a colon (:) indicates lengthening of the preceding vowel. For more information on the conventions used in an intonation unit (I.U.) transcription of connected speech, refer to Chapter 6.

[*1u* *ah* *3ya*,
[DIST EMPH yak

tipal=ko.]
some=DEF]
'(Having) many comforts, some of those yaks forgot (their friends).'

In examples (a-c) above, the brackets indicate the core arguments as well as the verb complex of the clause. In each case, the S/A of the clause follows the main verb, rather than precedes it, as it always does in elicited settings. Not all narrative clauses have post-verbal positioning of S/A arguments. The degree to which the ordering pattern occurs seems to vary with the speaker. The following example if from a narrative told by a different speaker, and illustrates pre-verbal positioning of the A argument:

(4.79) ... *ah* *tʌ̀ra.ŋi* [*1khim* *ŋi-ko-ri*] [*phôlpʌ* *4hri*],
... ah one.day [3.PL two-DEF-LOC] [frog one]

1yaŋ-pʌ *ro.*
find/get-NOM REP
'One day the the two of them got one frog.' (GBDF)

In almost all cases of the S/A argument following the main verb in connected speech, the S/A argument also occurs in a separate intonation unit. The motivation for this different type of constituent ordering may be pragmatic. In these cases, the speaker may want to highlight or emphasise the role of the agent in an action, rather than the event itself. One way to highlight this is by postposing the argument to the end of the clause, after all of the verb-complex elements.

5 *Clause combining strategies in Manange*

This chapter contains descriptions and some discussion on clause combining strategies in Manange. The order of this chapter is as follows: §5.1 concerns complementation in Manange; §5.2 contains a description of the structure of relative clauses and relativization strategies; §5.3 describes adverbial clauses; §5.4 concerns verb serialisation and §5.5 describes the clause chaining suffix *-tse* in Manange.

5.1 Complementation

While a thorough analysis of complementation strategies in Manange has not yet been undertaken, some preliminary discussion of them is still possible. Thus far, only object complementation has been evidenced in the language. This includes clauses of complement taking predicates (CTP's) such as *3pi* 'say,' and *2shʌm.le (phre)* 'forget,' shown in examples (5.1 a-d). The bracketed clauses are the complement clauses:

(5.1) a. *1khi=tse* *[1khi* *nepal=ri* *1yʌ=tsi]* *3pi-tsi*
3(SG)=ERG [3(SG) Nepal=LOC go=PERF] say-PERF
He said that he went to Nepal.'[1]

b. *1khi=tse* *[3kyʌ* *kye-pʌ* *1mo]* *3pi-tsi*
3(SG)=ERG [2(SG) pretty-NOM COP] say-PERF
'He said that you are pretty.'

c. *1ŋʌ* *[3kyʌ=lʌ* *4thiŋ=ri* *1yʌ-pʌ-ri]* *2shʌm.le-tsi*
1(SG) [2(SG)=GEN house=LOC go-NOM-PURP] forget-PERF
'I forgot to go to your house.'

d. *1khi* *2chen* *[3kyʌ=lʌ* *4thiŋ=ri* *1yʌ-pʌ-ri]*
3(SG) always [2(SG)=GEN house=LOC go-NOM-PURP]

[1] It should be noted that the verbal morphology of the sentence in (5.1 a) remains the same regardless of the co-referentiality of the two arguments in the sentence, the 'he' of the main clause and the 'he' of the complement clause.

2shʌm.le *1mo*
forget COP
'She always forgets to go to your house.'

In the first two examples (a-b) both clauses of the sentence show full finite verb morphology and so are evidence of finite complementation in the language. The third example (c) does not show this finite morphology; instead the verb of the complement clause *1yʌ* 'go' is nominalised and shows the purposive adverbial suffix *-ri*.

Another complementation strategy in Manange involves the use of desiderative modals as CTP's. Examples are shown in (5.2):

(5.2) *3saŋ*

a. *1ŋʌ* *[3ya* *1shʌ* *1tsʌ-pʌ]* ***3saŋ*** *1khʌ* *1mo*
1(SG) [yak flesh eat-NOM] **want** come COP
'I want to eat yak meat.'

b. *1ŋʌ* *[1yʌ-pʌ]* ***3saŋ*** *1khʌ* *1mo*
1(SG) [go-NOM] **want** come COP
'I want to go.'

It is possible that *3saŋ* 'want/like' above is nominal and that the interpretation of these is 'desire/wish comes.' The complement clause such as *1yʌ* 'go,' and *1tsʌ* 'eat' is always nominalised.

5.2 Relativisation

Like the other nominalisations (e.g. nominal modifiers and attributives) presented in Chapter 3, clauses in Manange are nominalised for the purpose of relativisation with the suffix *-pʌ*. At times in relativised contexts the vowel quality of /ʌ/ fronts and sounds like:

(5.3) [pe] or [pœ]

This phonetic alternation does not appear to correlate with any particular functional difference, however.

Relative clauses in Manange always directly precede their head noun, as examples (5.4 a-b) show:

(5.4) a. *1ŋʌ=tse* ***1srʌ*** ***1se-pʌ*** *3mi=ko=ri*
1(SG)=ERG **goat** **kill-NOM** person=DEF=LOC

4mwi *4phrʌ* *1pin-tsi*
money 100 give-PERF
'I gave 100 rupees to the man who killed the goat.'

b. *1ŋʌ=lʌ* **1ʧu-pʌ** *4khya 3yul=ko*
1(SG)=GEN **stay-NOM** place village/country=DEF

amerika (1mo/nʌ)
America (COP/EVID)
'The country where I live is America/my staying place is America.'

In these and the following examples, the relativised clause itself is in bold-face, while the head noun is underlined. While the nominaliser is almost always present on relative clauses, there are times when it apparently is unexpressed. For example, (a) above is acceptable without the *-pʌ* nominaliser on *1se* 'kill.' My consultants have conveyed to me that it can be obvious from the context of an uttered sentence which clause is the nominalised one and which one is not. I have noticed that this appears to happen with only certain high-frequency verbs and verb-like adjectives, like *1se* 'kill', *1shi* 'die' and *2nʌ* 'sick,' so it may be that these words undergo a kind of phonological erosion, where the nominaliser drops off.

Based on elicited and the few narrative examples of relative clauses that I have examined, pre-nominal ordering of the relativised clause with respect to the head noun appears to be the only acceptable method of ordering for my consultants. This contrasts with the adjective-head orderings that I have described in Chapter 3. Some examples from §3.5 are reproduced here:

(5.5) a. *1ŋʌ=tse* [*1mye* **2kum-pʌ]** *3kyu-tsi*
1(SG)=ERG [medicine **expensive-NOM]** buy-PERF
'I bought the expensive medicine.'

b. [*ɲyùkyu* **khyôkro=tse**] *àle=ri* *1chen-tsi*
[dog **old=ERG]** boy=LOC chase-PERF
'The old dog chased the boy.'

The modifier-head ordering differences between relative clauses and adjectives (both simple and verb-like adjectives) appears to be a crucial syntactic distinction between the two lexical classes (verbs and adjectives). Relativised verbs never follow the head noun, while adjectives follow the head noun in attributive modifying contexts, and may also precede the head noun in relative clause contexts. It is this ordering difference that has helped me to classify various verbs as either true verbs or verb-like adjectives, regardless of the ambiguous English translation. One example is *2khol* 'boil.' On the one hand, it has a verby interpretation and morphosyntax, as in the imperative in (5.6a). On the other hand, the verb can also have an adjective-like interpretation when it functions to modify a noun, as in (5.6b):

(5.6) a. *2kyu* *2khol-no*
water boil-IMPER
'Boil the water!'

b. *2khol-pʌ* *2kyu*
boil-NOM water
'boiled water / water that is boiled'

I have been told by most informants that in the nominal-modifier context of (5.6b) the verb *2khol* 'boil' always precedes the noun *2kyu*, and never follows it. Therefore, they don't find **2kyu 2khol-pʌ* an acceptable way of saying 'boiled water.'

This ordering constraint does not apply for verb-like adjectives. As was described in Chapter 3, verb-like adjectives show many of the morphosyntactic characteristics of verbs. One important way in which they are different, however, is how they order with respect to the head noun. A verb-like adjective like *3tu* 'poor,' can either be post-nominal *or* pre-nominal, depending on its function in the sentence. Consider the following two examples:

(5.7) *3tu* 'poor' as Adjective in Nominal Attributive Function

3mi ***3tu-pʌ***
person **poor-NOM**
'the poor person/man'

(5.8) *3tu* 'poor' as Pre-Nominal Relative Clause

3tu-pʌ *3mi*
poor-NOM person
'the person/man who is poor'

In example (5.7) the verb-like adjective *3tu* 'poor' occurs post-nominally and modifies *3mi* 'person' in an attributive function. In example (5.8) the same verb-like adjective is pre-nominal and modifies the same head noun in a relative clause function. 'True' verbs do not have this ordering option, but always occur as pre-nominal relative clauses when modifying a noun.

Many Tibeto-Burman languages utilise different coding strategies in their choice of relativizing morphology (Genetti 1992). For example, different relativizing morphemes in Lhasa Tibetan mark the different semantic roles of agent and patient. Such strategies are not present in Manange; the same nominaliser *-pʌ* is used, regardless of the head noun's semantic role in the relative clause. In addition, the head noun is always marked for its semantic role in the main clause only, as examples (5.9 a-b) show:

(5.9) a. ***nèse*** ***2pho*** ***tʌ-pʌ*** *kòla=ko=tse* *1ŋʌ=ri*
tomorrow **beat** **become-NOM** child=DEF=ERG 1(SG)=LOC

4mwi *4phrʌ* *1pin-tsi*
money 100 give-PERF
'The boy who will be beaten tomorrow gave me 100 rupees yesterday.'

b. ***nèse*** ***2pho*** ***tʌ-pʌ*** *kòla=ko=ri* *1ŋʌ=tse*
tomorrow **beat** **become-NOM** child=DEF=LOC 1(SG)=ERG

4mwi *4phrʌ* *1pin-tsi*
money 100 give-PERF
'I gave the boy who will be beaten tomorrow 100 rupees (yesterday).'

In both examples, the semantic role of *kòla* 'child/boy' within the relative clause is the same: that of patient. However, the case-marking on this argument is different, depending on its role in the main clause. In example (a), *kòla* 'boy' is marked for its main clause role as the agent, the giver of money. In (b), *kòla* 'boy' is marked for its main clause role as the dative recipient of giving. This difference in marking is evidence of the head being marked for the main clause, rather than for the relative clause.

While semantic roles within the relative clause are not marked by the choice of relativizing morphology in Manange, some types of secondary aspectual information in the relativised event are marked in the relative clause through verb serialisation, as shown in (5.10 and 5.11), with the aspectual marking in italics:

(5.10) Future/Irrealis

1srʌ ***1se*** ***1tʌ-pʌ*** *3mi=ko=tse*
goat **kill** ***become-NOM*** person=DEF=ERG

1ŋʌ=ri *tèle* *4mwi* *4phrʌ* *1pin-tsi*
1(SG)=LOC yesterday money 100 give-PERF
'The man who will kill the goat tomorrow gave me 100 rupees yesterday.'

(5.11) Imperfective

2chen ***2pho*** ***1ʈu-pʌ*** *kòla=ko=tse* *1ŋʌ=ri*
always **beat** ***stay-NOM*** child=DEF=ERG 1(SG)=LOC

4mwi *4phrʌ* *1pin-tsi*
money 100 give-PERF
'The boy who was always beaten gave me 100 rupees.'

As these examples show, the use of *1tʌ* 'become' and *1ʈu* 'stay' convey irrealis or imperfective aspects about the relativised event, which is the first verb in the serialisation. No additional marking is used to convey perfectivity.

Presently, I have found no evidence of co-relativisation or of non-restrictive relatives in Manange. In addition, it seems that relative clauses in Manange do not exist in a structurally appositive relationship with the head noun. For example, double case-marking on both the relative clause and on the head noun is not acceptable to my consultants. Thus, a construction like (5.12), where the relativised clause shows ergative marking (in italics) and the A argument of the main clause also shows ergative marking (underlined), is not acceptable:

(5.12) ****nèse*** ***1pho*** ***tʌ-pʌ=tse*** *kòla=ko=tse* *1ŋʌ=ri*
tomorrow **beat** **become-NOM=*ERG*** child=DEF=ERG 1=LOC

4mwi *4phrʌ* *1pin-tsi*
money 100 give-PERF
'The boy who will be beaten tomorrow gave me 100 rupees yesterday.'

That the nominalised clause cannot show ergative marking in (5.12) suggests that relativised clauses are treated as a dependent modifier of the head noun, rather than as a structure that is structurally 'on par' or 'equal' to the head noun.

5.3 Adverbial modification

Manange makes use of several morphemes which have various adverbial modifying functions. They include:

(5.13)

Conditional	*kyʌ-nʌ*
Concessive	*-caŋ; len*
Because	*-tse; -pʌ; ta pi-nʌ*
Purpose	*-ri*
Simultaneity	*-tse; khʌ-ni*
Sequential (Before)	*pili naraŋ*
Sequential (After)	*-tse*

The chaining suffix *-tse* marks various types of adverbial modification, especially temporal modification, and I will save a more thorough discussion of it for §5.5.

Conditionals are marked by a series of two morphemes *kyʌ-nʌ*. The morpheme *-nʌ* is used in Tibetan conditionals; *kyʌ* is not parsable beyond its use with *-nʌ* in meaning 'if...then.' Examples are shown in (5.14 a-b):

(5.14) a. *1ŋʌ* *2tsu* *4che=ko* *hlakpʌ=ri* *1piin* **kyʌ-nʌ**
1(SG) PROX book=DEF Lakpa=LOC give **COND**

1ŋʌ=ri *4mwi* *4phrʌ* *1pim-pʌ* *ko*
1(SG)=LOC money 100 give-NOM EVID
'If I give Lakpa the book, he will give me 100 rupees.'

b. *1khi* *tèle* *1srʌ=ko* *1se* **kyʌ-nʌ**
3(SG) yesterday goat=DEF kill **COND**

tìŋi *1srʌ=ko* *1tsʌ* *11ʌ* *2chin-tse* *1mo* *a*
today goat=DEF eat do finish-CONT COP EVID
'If he had killed the goat yesterday, he would have eaten it today.'

Evidence that *kyʌ* is not bound to the verb root comes from the nasalisation and lengthening of the vowel of Class B verbs such as *1piin* 'give.'

Concessives are formed with either one of two possible morphemes, *-caŋ* or *len*. Evidence from the morphophonemic behavior of Class B verb stems (§4.1) suggests that while *-caŋ* is bound, *len* is not.

At first glance, the distribution of *-caŋ* and *len* points to a division in function, as examples (5.15) and (5.16) show:

(5.15) *-caŋ*

tèle	*1ŋʌ*	*hlakpʌ=ri*	*4mwi*	*4phrʌ*	*1pin-**caŋ***
yesterday	1(SG)	Lakpa=LOC	money	100	give-**CONCESS**

'làken *1po'* *3pi-tsi*
'again give' say=PERF
'Although I gave Lakpa one hundred rupees yesterday, he demanded more.'

(5.16) *len*

1ŋʌ	*pâlte*	*lo*	*4hri=ri*	*1yʌ*	***len***	*pokhara*	*1a-yʌ*
1(SG)	Nepal	year	one=LOC	go	**CONCESS**	Pokhara	NEG-go

'Although I will go to Nepal in one year, I will not go to Pokhara.'

The division suggested by the examples above is one where the clause following *-caŋ* is a counter-expectation, but is not negated structurally, and the clause following *len* is a counter-expectation, as well as is negated (*1a-yʌ*). However while this is the predominant pattern in my data, I do have counter-examples.

In addition to the counter examples that I've seen, both *len* and *-caŋ* can appear on clauses that show both first-person and non-first person subjects, as well as on clauses that can vary with respect to the implied aspect. Consequently, at this time the functional distribution of these two morphemes is not clear and requires further study.

The marking of adverbial clauses which hold causal relationships with the main clause in Manange is complex and is currently not well understood. Up to three different morphemes are acceptable in these environments. Each morpheme is illustrated in (5.17) through (5.19) below:

(5.17) *-tse*

kòla=ko	*tèle*	***2nʌ-tse***	*1kra-tsi*
child=DEF	yesterday	**sick-CC**	cry-PERF

'The child cried because she was ill yesterday.'

(5.18) *-pʌ*

1ŋʌ=tse	*4mwi*	*4phrʌ*	*3kyʌ=ri*	***1pim-pʌ***
1=ERG	money	100	2(SG)=LOC	**give-NOM**

nèse	*3kyʌ*	*kôla*	*3kyu-pʌ*
tomorrow	2(SG)	clothes	buy-NOM

'Because I gave you 100 rupees, you will buy a dress tomorrow.'

(5.19) *ta pi-nʌ*

1ŋʌ=tse	*kristin=ri*	*2taŋ*	*1pin=tsi*	***ta***	***pi-nʌ***
1(SG)=ERG	Kristine=LOC	box	give=PERF	**how**	**say-EVID**

nèse *1khi* *manaŋ=ri* *1yʌ-pʌ* *ro*
tomorrow 3(SG) Manang=LOC go-NOM REP
'I gave Kristine gifts because she will go to Manang tomorrow.'

While the first two strategies involve the use of non-finite verb morphology before the connective, the third strategy in (5.19), using the interrogative pronoun *ta pi-nʌ*, shows finite morphology on the preceding verb, suggesting a more hypotactic or coordinated structure than the other two. A more literal interpretation of this example could be 'I gave Kristine a gift. Why? Tomorrow (it is said that) she will go to Manang.' All three strategies appear to be equally acceptable in any situation; however, the third strategy (*ta pi-nʌ*) is the one most often seen in narrative data.

In addition to the previous strategies, clause combinations with causal relationships can be formed with simple parataxis with no adverbial connectives, as (5.20) shows:

(5.20) *1ŋʌ* *dzua* **1kyaŋ-tsi//** *1ŋʌ* *3tu-pʌ* *1tʌ-tsi*
1(SG) gamble **play-PERF//** 1(SG) poor-NOM become-PERF
'Because I gambled, I became poor/ I gambled. I became poor.'

Turning to purpose adverbials in Manange, these involve the use of the suffix *-ri*, which follows the nominalised form of the dependent clause's verb. At this time, I have only elicited for purposives where *1yʌ* 'go' is the finite verb. Examples are given in (5.21 a-b):

(5.21) a. *1khi* *2kyu* **3kim-pʌ-ri** *1yʌ-tsi*
3(SG) water **get/buy-NOM-PURP** go-PERF
'He went to get water.'

b. *1ŋʌ* *1shi* **2ʧi-pʌ-ri** *1yʌ-tse* *1mo*
1(SG) rice **pick-NOM-PURP** go-CONT COP
'I am going to pick rice.'

This particular suffix may be diachronically related to the use of the locative casemarker *=ri* in that purposive adverbials involve the undertaking of one action with the purpose of undertaking another. This invokes a schema of a directed activity, making the re-analysis of a locative marker into a purposive subordinator a logical process. Such a reanalysis is common in other Tibeto-Burman languages, including some dialects of Tibetan and Dolakha Newar (Genetti 1991).

Most temporal adverbialisation in Manange uses the clause chaining suffix *-tse* and it is often difficult to separate sequential actions/events between two or more clauses from those that are simultaneous or temporally overlapping. However temporal adverbials that explicitly mark the temporal precedence of the second clause do use different morphology, as (5.22) shows:

(5.22) *3yuŋ=tse* *2tshaŋ* ***pili*** ***naraŋ*** *1khi* *2kwen* *1mi*
rock=PL put ** **before** 3(SG) lift EVID
'Before he put the stones (into the bucket) he picked them all up.'

Other forms of temporal modification, including 'after' sequentials and simultaneous clauses, use the clause chaining suffix *-tse*, as shown in (5.23) and (5.24):

(5.23) 'After' Sequential Temporals

yûŋpʌ=ko	***3por-tse***	*pʌlti*	*3naŋ=ri*	*2tshaŋ*	*1mi*
stone=DEF	**pick.up-CC**	bucket	inside=LOC	put	EVID

'After he picked up the stones, he put them in the bucket.'

(5.24) Simultaneous temporals

àle=ko	*4khwe*	***1prin-tse***	*3yuŋ=tse*	*2tshaŋ-tsi*
boy=DEF	song	**hit-CC**	stone=PL	put-PERF

'The boy sang while he put the stones (into the bucket).'

While the clause chainer *-tse* in these examples marks both sequential and simultaneous modification, it also has a variety of other functions They will be discussed in more depth in §5.5.

5.4 Serialisation

Manange makes use of six different verbs in serial verb constructions. They are: *1yʌ* 'go,' *1khʌ* 'come,' *1ʧu* 'sit/stay/inhabit,' *3pi*, 'say,' *1lʌ* 'do,' and *1piin* 'give.' I will first describe morphosyntactic features of Manange serial verbs in general. Following this, I will address the specific functions of the above verbs in serialised structures.

In serial verb constructions, two or more verbs are juxtaposed to form a complex single clause. The presence of these two verbs refers to a single event or action, as shown in (5.25 a-b):

(5.25) a.

necel	*1yʌ-pʌ*	*3mi=tse*	*kompʌ=ri*	*khʌtʌ*
religion	go-NOM	person=ERG	gompa=LOC	scarf

3pu	***1khʌ-tsi***
carry	**come-PERF**

'The pilgrim brought the scarf to the temple.'

b.

1mriŋ=ko=tse	*kʌp*	***1te***	***lʌ***	*1mi*
woman=DEF=ERG	cup	**fall**	**do**	EVID

'The woman dropped the cup.'

In these examples, despite the fact that there are two verbs present, they refer to one event, namely 'bringing,' and 'dropping.'

Various literature concerning the concept of verb serialisation provide at least one common description of these constructions, this being that all verbs in the series show the same amount and same type of morphology (Foley and Olson 1985; DeLancey 1991). Often in Tibeto-Burman languages this constitutes no morphology at all, but rather the juxtaposition of two or more bare verb stems. In these examples, the clause is comprised of juxtaposing verbs, constituting a single, although semantically complex, event.

Structurally, serial verbs in Manange are identical in their reference to the aspect of the event or action; it is not acceptable for either verb to individually show aspectual marking or evidentiality, as illustrated in example (5.26):

(5.26) *1mriŋ=ko=tse* *kʌp* *1te* ***1mi*** *11ʌ* *1mi*
woman=DEF=ERG cup fall ***mi*** do EVID
??'The woman dropped the cup.'

With individual (perfective) evidential marking such as appears in example (5.26) above, this construction is interpreted by speakers as being comprised of two distinct finite clauses (two separate events), and it would be nonsensical to them. In this way, the aspect marking at the end of the serialised clause in the sentences in (5.25) points to its scope over the entire (complex) clause. Therefore, these are interpreted as complex, uniclausal constructions.

Additionally, both of the juxtaposed verbs in serialisations share the same 'subject' argument of the clause. In (5.27):

(5.27) Narrative

nyùkyu=ko *2khuŋ=tʌr=tse* ***1phʌ.te*** ***1yʌ*** *1mi*
dog=DEF window=ABL=?? **down.fall** **go** EVID
'The dog fell out from the window.' (Boy Dog Frog)

It is understood by all of my consultants that the same 'subject' *nyùkyu* 'dog' is shared by both of the verbs, and that the overt presence of or elipted reference to a different 'subject' for either of the verbs *1phʌ.te* 'fall' or *1yʌ* 'go' is not acceptable.

Another factor considered in the description and discussion of serial verbs has to do with the degree of grammaticisation of one of the verbs in the construction. For the purposes of this grammar, I view grammaticisation in a language as evidenced by both morphophonological as well as semantic changes. In isolating languages (such as Manange), semantic bleaching or generalisation of an otherwise independent element, such as a lexical verb, can be evidence of that element's grammaticisation towards a more grammatical and less lexical status, even if that element doesn't show the prototypical morphological properties of bound morphemes. Clearly, morphologisation typically lends itself to (or occurs 'hand-in-hand' with) the semantic bleaching of the previously free element, but in Manange, a grammaticised element can show this bleaching without necessarily showing evidence of reanalysis into a bound morpheme. Some accounts of serialisation suggest that these constructions are composed of two recognisable verbs, and that neither is grammaticised (Sandra A. Thompson, pers. comm.). Evidence of grammaticisation is also evidence of a more lexicalised construction, pointing towards complex predicates. Other descriptions suggest that serial verb constructions can vary with respect to the degree that one of the verbs displays characteristics of grammaticisation (Payne 1997). There does seem to be agreement however that a strong degree of semantic change/bleaching in one of the elements is evidence for reanalysis into a grammatical morpheme.

All of the serial verb constructions in Manange display some degree of semantic shift or bleaching for the second verb element. In *1yʌ* 'go' serials, the verb can indicate a

translocative or directional change of the first verb, rather than itself functioning as a motion verb, as in (5.28) and (5.29):

(5.28) *ȁle=ko* *skul=ri* ***4phro*** ***1yʌ-tsi***
boy=DEF school=LOC **walk** **go-PERF**
'The boy walked to school.'

(5.29) Narrative

phôlpʌ=ko *boʧʌl=tʌr* ***2la*** ***2la*** ***1yʌ*** *1mi* *ro*
frog=DEF bottle=ABL **run** **run** **go** EVID REP
'The frog ran away from the bottle.' (Boy Dog Frog)

In both of these examples, the second verb *1yʌ* 'go' provides directional information for the first verbs *4phro* 'walk' and *2la* 'run/flee,' respectively.

Direction isn't the only sense conveyed by *1yʌ* 'go' in Manange serials. It also lends a non-volitional meaning to both transitive and intransitive constructions, such as *2thi* 'break,' *shʌ́m.le* 'forget,' and *phʌ.kyer* 'frighten,' as shown in (5.30) and (5.31):

(5.30) *boʧʌl=ko* ***2thi*** ***1yʌ*** *1mi* *ro*
bottle=DEF **break** **go** EVID REP
'The bottle broke (due to some unknown force).' (Boy Dog Frog)

(5.31) Narrative

a. *(3ya)* ***shʌ́mle.phre*** ***1yʌ*** *1mi*
(yak) **forget** **go** EVID
'The yaks forgot.'[2] (Yak Buff)

b. *ȁle=ko* *2ŋim-pʌ* *1kye* *4the-tse*
boy=DEF scary-NOM sound hear-CC

phʌ.kyer ***1yʌ*** *1mi* *ro*
frighten **go** EVID REP
'the boy, hearing the scary sound, was frightened'

The verb *1khʌ* 'come,' when used in Manange serials conveys cislocative directional information, as shown in (5.32):

(5.32) *3kyʌ=lʌ* *ȁmʌ=tse* *2phuŋ=tse* ***3pu*** ***1khʌ-tsi***
2(SG)=GEN mother=ERG egg=PL **carry** **come-PERF**
'Your mother brought (over) some eggs.'

---

[2] Most lexical verbs in Manange are mono- or disyllabic in morphological structure. *shʌ́m.le(phre)-pʌ* is one of the few exceptions. It may be poly-morphemic, but I do not have a clear analysis for its structure as of yet. Its two representations in elicitation are: *shʌ́m.le-pʌ* or *shʌ́m.le.phre-pʌ* and both mean 'forget-NOM.'

The one verb in Manange that provides aspectual information in serialisations is *1ʈu* 'stay,' which contributes a continuative or habitual meaning. Examples (5.33) and (5.34) show this:

(5.33) Narrative

a. *3pi-tse* *11ʌ-tse* *ten* *3naŋ=ri* **3ŋyo** **1ʈu** *1mi* *ten*
say-CC do-CC DM inside=LOC **look** **stay** EVID DM
'Doing this, (they) kept looking.' (Yak Buff)

b. *pora* *2coŋ-pʌ* *2tuŋ-tse* **11ʌ** **ʈu-pʌ**
bag similar-NOM wear-CC **do** **stay-NOM**
'Wearing a bag-like (thing), (they/the yaks) will continue to do this.'(Yak Buff)

(5.34) *2chen* *3mi=ko* *ten* *1mriŋ=ko* **2tshe** **1ʈu** *1mo*
always person=DEF CONJ woman=DEF **fight** **stay** COP
'The man and woman always argue.'

The use of *11ʌ* 'do' in serial verb constructions in Manange can serve two different functions. The first is its use in morphological causatives, first discussed in §4.6. Examples are reproduced below:

(5.35) a. *1mriŋ=ko=tse* *kòsho* **2thi** **11ʌ-tsi**
woman=DEF=ERG cup **fall** **do-PERF**
'The woman dropped the cup.'

b. *1mriŋ=ko=tse* *kòsho* **1ki** **11ʌ=tsi**
woman=DEF=ERG cup **break** **do=PERF**
'The woman broke the cup.'

As was previously described, the appearance of *11ʌ* in morphological causatives creates an ergative marked causer (*1mriŋ* 'woman') and an absolutive marked causee (*kosho* 'cup').

An additional function of serial *11ʌ* 'do' in Manange is in potentials (also called abilitatives), as shown in (5.36 a-b):[3]

(5.36) a. *1khi* **2kyu** **1ʌ** *4khyeen* *1mo*
3(SG) **run** **do** able COP
'He is able to run.'[4]

[3] It may in fact be the case in potentials and in permissives that *11ʌ* has grammaticised into a suffixal status, attaching to the first verb in the sentence, and functioning as something like a complementiser. If this is the case, then these constructions are not serials in a strict sense. Rather, they are best analyzed as complement constructions, with the clause to which *11ʌ* is suffixed as the embedded clause and the clause containing *4khyeen* 'able' or *1piin* 'give' (and including *3yaŋ* 'must/need') being the modal clauses.

[4] I do not consider the copula *1mo* to be a component in the above serialisations, as it does not 'behave' in other ways that lexical verbs in Manange behave. Rather, the copula contributes (imperfective) aspectual information to the clause as a whole.

b. *1ŋʌ=tse* *mánaŋ* *1kye* **1ko** *11ʌ* *4khyeen* *1mo*
1(SG)=ERG Manag sound **understand** **do** able COP
'I am able to understand the Manange language.'

Although there is a string of three verbs in the above constructions, there is evidence that the last verb *4khyeen* 'able' is not structurally part of the other two previous verbs. When potentials are negated in Manange, only the final verb shows the negative prefix *a-*, as shown in (5.37):

(5.37) *1khi=tse* *mánaŋ* *1kye* *1ko* *11ʌ* ***4a-khyeen*** *1mo*
3(SG)=ERG Manaŋ sound understand do **NEG-able** COP
'He is unable to understand the Manange language.'

My consultants do not accept the negative prefix on any of the other verbs.

The fifth verb in Manange that appears in serial constructions is *1piin* 'give.' It appears in permissives (described in 4.4.2), following another complex predicate, which is comprised of a lexical verb + *11ʌ* 'do' serialisation. An example is shown in (5.38):

(5.38) *1khi=ri* *kò̀la* ***2sru*** ***11ʌ*** ***1pin-no***
3(SG)=LOC clothes **wash** **lʌ** **give-IMPER**
'Let her wash the clothes.'

In these constructions, *1piin* 'give' implies that one is 'giving' the action/event of the first verb.

As mentioned with abilitatives above, *11ʌ* doesn't contribute to the permissive or potential/abilitative constructions themselves, but seems to be linked more to the main verb of the first clause. Similarly to abilitatives, when permissives are negated, only the final verb *1piin* 'give' is negated, suggesting that *11ʌ* is the second verb in a serialised bundle with the first lexical verb in the sentence. Whatever semantic contribution *lʌ* may perform in such constructions is currently unanalyzeable.

The final verb found in Manange serials is *3pi* 'say.' It occurs infrequently in clauses that justify or provide causal information about another action or event, as in (5.39):

(5.39) Narrative

hai-le *1khi* ***mlaŋ.cha*** ***3pi*** *nʌ*
how-** 3(SG) **curse** **say** EVID
'Because they cursed (the yaks).' (Yak Buff)

However, I am not sure that *3pi* 'say' is best characterised as part of a serialised construction here, as most causal constructions in Manange use a specific type of 'because' clause with very different morphology, as shown in (5.40):

(5.40) *1ŋʌ=tse* *kristin=ri* *3taŋ* *1pin-tsi* ***2ta*** ***3pi*** ***nʌ***
1(SG)=ERG Kristine=LOC box give-PERF **what** **say** **EVID**

nèse *1khi* *mánaŋ=ri* *1yʌ-pʌ*
tomorrow 3(SG) Manang=LOC go-NOM
'I gave gifts to Kristine because she will go to Manang tomorrow.'

In the sentence in (5.40), 'because' clearly occurs in a bi-clausal/bi-sentential construction and the morphological structure is quite different from that in (5.39). Perhaps a better translation for the sentence in (5.39) is 'They uttered a curse,' where *mlaŋ.cha* is a noun (object) and not a verb. Another possible function of *3pi* 'say' in (5.39) may be as a kind of evidential construction: "it is said that they uttered a curse."

5.5 The clause-chaining suffix *-tse*

I begin here with a general discussion of the forms and functions of *-tse* clause chains in Manange. I then move on to an analysis of a special type of *-tse* chaining, which occurs following the verb *1lʌ* 'do' in narratives, and which serves a specialised, perfective aspect marking function.

5.5.1 Clause chaining with -tse

-tse chains are structures in Manange that occur in elicited sentences and which are also frequent in connected speech settings such as narratives. An example is shown here, with the *-tse* suffix in boldface:

(5.41) *àle* *1ʧu-tse* *1tsʌ-tsi*
boy sit-**CC** eat-PERF
'The boy sat and then ate/the boy sat while he ate.'

-tse is a verbal suffix in non-final clauses. Evidence pointing to the non-final status of *-tse* clause chains include its non-occurrence with aspect morphology such as perfective *-tsi* or with clause-final evidentials such as *1mi*, *ro*, or *ko*.

As (5.41) above shows, the 'subject' argument of the clause (*àle* 'boy') usually holds grammatical relations with both verbs in the larger sentence. However, there is no specific same-subject constraint at work in clause chains in Manange. This is illustrated by example (5.42):

(5.42) *àru=tse* *2cucu* *rara* **4the-tse** *3tsʌ-tsi*
auntie=ERG after rara **cook-CC** eat-PERF
'After Aru cooked the rara (noodles), she ate them.'

or

'After Aru cooked the rara, I ate them.'

In this example, two interpretations are possible (either Aru does both the cooking and the eating, or Aru does the cooking and someone else does the eating), and in such cases, the context of the utterances helps to disambiguate which participant does what action.

-tse chains also do not have a temporal specification. Consider again example (5.41) again, repeated here for convenience:

(5.41) *à̀le* *lʈu-tse* *ltsʌ-tsi*
boy sit-**CC** eat-PERF
'The boy sat and then ate/the boy sat while he ate.'

Two interpretations of the temporal relation between the clauses are possible, one which is consecutive in nature, where the boy sits and then eats, and one which is simultaneous in nature, where the boy sits while he eats (or even one which has an adverbial interpretation, where the boy eats in a sitting manner). In some chained sentences however, it is clear by the semantics of the verbs involved what the temporal relation between the actions is and who the participant(s) is/are, as in example (5.43) below:

(5.43) *3mi=ko* [*lthyʌ-pʌ* *llʌ-tse*] *kete-tsi*
person=DEF [big-NOM do-**CC**] shout-PERF
'The man shouted loudly.'

In this example, the verb *llʌ* functions as a verbaliser and together with *lthyʌ-pʌ* 'big-NOM,' forms a verbal complex which clearly exists in adverbial modification relation ('to do something in a large or loud way') with the main clause verb *kete* 'shout.' My consultants tell me that it would be strange to think of a sentence such as (5.43) above as having a sequential temporal relationship or having different 'subject' participants.

5.5.2 Intraclausal temporal relation marking and llʌ-tse

I now turn to a specific type of chained construction, which occurs in narrative settings. These are clause chained *llʌ* 'do' constructions (*llʌ-tse*), and I will now discuss the morphosyntactic characteristics and semantic interpretations of these clauses, paying particular attention to their recapitulative and temporal (or aspect) marking functions.

Clause chained *llʌ* constructions are similar to other *-tse* clause chains in that they occur in a non-final clause position in the sentence. However, these particular clause chain types involve the verb *llʌ* 'do,' which serves to recapitulate the event of the previous clause. The following examples illustrate this common narrative strategy (the *llʌ* clause chain is in boldface and each line is numbered for reference):

(5.44) a.
1. *ʌ̀ne* *lkhim=ko* *ʌ̀ne* *lu* *à̀le=ko=tse* *nyùkyu=ko=ri*
then 3(PL)=DEF then DIST boy=DEF=ERG dog=DEF=LOC

2. *cu-pʌ* *la-kʌ* *'lkye* *a-te-ro'* *3pi-tsi//*[5]
keep-NOM say-** sound NEG-take.out-IMPER say-PERF//

3. ***ʌ̀tse*** ***llʌ-tse/*** *3ŋyo* *lyʌ* *lmi* *ro//*
like.this **do-CC/** look go EVID REP//

'After, the boy told the dog to stay quiet, not make any sound. Having said this, they went looking.' (Boy Dog Frog)

[5] In these examples, a single backslash (/) indicates a clause boundary, while a double backslash (//) indicates a sentence boundary.

b.

1. *2cucu* *1u* *1ŋyaŋ* *3yul*
   after DIST 1(PL)(GEN) village

2. *1ʧu-pʌ* *3ya=ko* *ʧoŋ* *a* *2no-pʌ=ri* *1ʧu-pʌ*
   stay-NOM yak=DEF EMPH EMPH tall-NOM=LOC stay-NOM

3. *3ya=ko* *ten* *'1khʌ* *ki* *1a-khʌ-pʌ'/*
   yak=DEF then come or NEG-come-NOM/

4. ***3pi-tse/*** ***11ʌ-tse/*** *ten* *3naŋ=ri* *3ŋyo* *1ʧu* *1mi* *ten//*
   say-CC/ **do-CC/** then inside=LOC look stay EVID then//

   'After, those yaks who stayed in our village, who stayed in our tall place, said 'are they (the bad yaks) coming or not coming?' Having said this, they continued to look (for them).' (Yak Buff)

Detailed observation reveals that examples (5.44 a) and (5.44 b) are actually somewhat different structurally. Example (5.44 a) has a *11ʌ-tse* structure which follows a finite clause which it recapitulates, but which is itself part of a second finite sentence. This strategy can be represented by the following figure:

[verb$_1$]-finite// **11ʌ-tse/** [verb$_2$]-finite//

In example (5.44 b), on the other hand shows, the *11ʌ-tse* clause follows and recapitulates a previous chained clause, and both are syntactially part of the same sentence. This strategy can be represented by the following figure:

[verb$_1$]-tse/ **11ʌ-tse/** [verb$_2$]-finite//

The main difference between these two structural strategies is that in the first strategy, the first event is separated structurally from the *11ʌ-tse* recapitulation by a sentence boundary, while in the second strategy, the first event and the *lʌ-tse* recapitulation are both structurally non-finite and are embedded within the larger sentence that contains the second event. Both structures occur with equal frequency in the narrative texts that I have examined.

As with the *-tse* chains without *11ʌ* that are found in both elicited and connected speech, *lʌ-tse* chains do not involve a a same subject constraint. In example (5.45 a) the subject in all clauses refer to a single referent. In (5.45 b), on the other hand, the subject of the *lʌ-tse* recapitulation has a different referent than that of the following clause. The brackets in the example highlight the subjects of the different events.

(5.45) a. Same Subject Relation

1. *shʌ́mle.phre* *1yʌ* *1mi*
   forget go EVID

2. [*lu a lya tipal=ko*]//
   [DIST EMPH yak some=DEF]//
   'Those yaks (the bad yaks) forgot (about their friends in the mountains).'

   (three sentences omitted)

3. *she 3sro-pʌ=tse 2co-pʌ=ko*
   other friend-NOM=PL all-NOM=DEF

4. *shʌ́mle.phre* ***lyʌ-tse/ llʌ-tse/***
   forget **go-CC/ do-CC/**

5. *lkhim=ko ʌ̀le llʌ-tse/ ʌ̀tse ten*
   3(PL)=DEF like.this do-CC/ like.this then

6. *lʈu lmi//*
   stay EVID//
   'Having forgotten about their friends, having done this, they (the bad yaks) stayed (in the valley).' (Yak Buff)

b. Different Subject Relation

1. [*cil=ko*] *3pwal=tʌr lthaŋ=ri tuŋ lmi ro//*
   [eagle=DEF] hole=from outside=LOC come.out EVID REP//
   'The eagle came outside from the hole.'

2. ***ʌ̀tse llʌ-tse/*** [*lu nàpraŋ=tse 4khwe nàpraŋ=tse*]
   like.this do-CC/ [DIST fly=ERG honey fly=ERG]

3. *nyùkyu=ko=ri 3pyu lmi ro//*
   dog=DEF=PAT chase EVID REP//
   '(the eagle having come out), the bees chased the dog.' (Boy Dog Frog)

While the subject of the first sentence and the recapitulated clause is the eagle (who came out of the hole), the subject of the second event is the honey bees (who chase the dog). It should be noted there is no correlation between same/different subject and whether or not the first event is found in a finite or chained clause.

While there does not appear to be any subject constraint in effect in *llʌ-tse* clauses, these clause chains, which I term perfective recapitulations, are different from *-tse* marked chains without *llʌ* in that they serve dual functions; they recapitulate a previous event in the narrative line, and they also signal a perfective aspectual relation between events in the story that occur prior to and following the clause chained *llʌ* structure.

By a perfective aspectual relationship, I mean that the presence of clause-chained *llʌ* between two clauses in a narrative not only functions to repeat the previous action or event, but also functions to treat the previous event in the narrative as complete and bounded in relation to the ensuing event. As examples (5.45 a-b) illustrate, the previous actions (the boy telling his dog to be quiet in lines 1-2 of example (a), and the yaks speaking of their friends in lines 1-3 of example (b)) are recapitulated by the *llʌ-tse* form as having been

completed before the ensuing events unfold (the looking by the boy and the dog in line 3 of (a) and the yaks continuing to search for their friends in line 4 of (b)).

In this sense, the presence of clause chained *1lʌ* in narrative recapitulations (as in periphrastic causatives) makes explicit a sequential temporal relationship between two (or more) events in a narrative line. However, unlike in periphrastic causatives, described in §4.6, which show *1lʌ-tse* morphology, this temporal relationship in perfective recapitulations is not so much one where one action has a resulting (causal) effect on another, but where one action is repeated as a bounded whole (without any attention to internal temporal detail) before another action begins. Another term that has been suggested by Michael Noonan for this relationship is 'summative,' in that the first event is viewed as a summarised whole in relation to the second event (Michael Noonan pers.comm).

There are other instances of *1lʌ-tse* chains in narratives where the dual functions of recapitulating an event and signaling a perfective aspectual relationship between events narrows to a single function only, that of signaling a perfective relationship. The following example illustrates this (only the *1lʌ-tse* chain which illustrates the perfective relationship is in boldface in this example):

(5.46)

1. *4tshe-pʌ* *1khʌ* *ko* *nʌ//*
   heat-NOM come EVID EVID//

2. *4tshe-pʌ* *4a-thya-tse/* *1lʌ-tse/*
   hot-NOM NEG-bear-CC/ do-CC/

3. *2kyu=ri* *2shu-pʌ//* *pokhari=ri* *2shu-pʌ//*
   water=LOC wash-NOM// lake=LOC wash-NOM//

4. **2khaŋ-tse** **1lʌ-tse** *ten/*
   cold-CC **do-CC** then/

5. *2khaŋ-tse/* *2khaŋ-tse/* *4a-thya-pʌ* *1lʌ-tse* *ten/*
   cold-CC/ cold-CC/ NEG-bear-NOM do-CC then/

6. *pora* *2coŋ-pʌ* *2tuŋ-tse* *1lʌ* *1ʈu-pʌ* *1u* *sʌrap=ko//*
   bag similar-NOM cover-CC do stay-NOM DIST curse=DEF//
   'The heat comes. Not able to bear the heat, (the cursed ones) bathe in the lake, they bathe in the water. The cold (having come), not able to bear the cold, the cursed ones wear bag-like coverings.'

The above example is from a section in the narrative 'The Yak Buffalo Story' (see Chapter 6 for the entire story) where the results of the lazy and forgetful yaks' curse (given by their friends) are evident; the yaks cannot bear hot or cold weather, and therefore must soak in water in the heat and wear protective burlap bags in the cold weather. In earlier clauses, after the narrator has initially described the curse given to the yaks, he explicitly states that they are not able to bear the heat or the cold. In line 2 above, he recapitulates this earlier event (the inability to bear the heat) before he moves on to describe in more detail the result of this inability in line 3. The expectation then is that the narrator will use the same

perfective, recapitulating structure as he reiterates the harsh effects of the cold weather. Contrary to this expectation however, line 4 above does not show a recapitulating function (e.g. *2khaŋ-tse 4a-thya-tse 11ʌ-tse* 'having not been able to bear the cold'), but rather shows clause chained *11ʌ* following the verbal property concept *2khaŋ* 'be cold' only. The lack of an eventive verb which would be repeated in the boldfaced structure above, coupled with the presence of clause chained *11ʌ*, suggests that in some contexts, it is the perfective aspectual function only that *11ʌ-tse* is performing.

Appendix A: A Manange text

The following text was recorded in October of 1998, during my first field trip to Nepal. The narrator is Palten Gurung, the father of my consultant Eden. At the time of the recording, Mr Gurung was approximately 45 years of age, and was raised in the Manang district's main village of Manang. In 1998 Mr. Gurung was serving as the elected district minister of Manang. As of 2002 Mr Gurung is now Minister of Transportation for the Nepali Congress, and he currently resides in Kathmandu with his family. He makes frequent trips back to Manang in order to meet with his constituents and relatives. The text is a local legend, titled simply 'The Yak and Water Buffalo Story' by most Manange speakers.

The story concerns some selfish and forgetful yaks, who are cursed for forgetting about their friends. In the story, some yaks live in crowded conditions on a hilltop. After having a meeting, it is decided that half of the group will venture to the valleys below in order to seek out better living conditions. Upon arrival in the valley, the half-group of yaks discover that life is indeed better than in the hills. In fact, they enjoy their new surroundings so much that they forget to return to the hills to tell the other half of the group about their discovery. Consequently, the remaining group of yaks (those staying in the hills) place a curse on their forgetful friends, turning them into water buffalo. Now, the buffalo, having lost their fur, suffer through both hot and cold seasons, spending summer wading in the lakes and spending winter wearing burlap bags as protection from the cold air. The moral of the story is to always remember one's friends and never cheat them.

The transcription conventions of this text are as follows. The text is divided into 122 prosodic or intonation units, as outlined by Du Bois et al 1993. The delicacy level of this transcription can be labeled as broad, as not every prosodic and intonational feature encountered in the recording of this text is marked. Each intonation unit (IU) is numbered and ends with a symbol which serves to identify its transitional continuity. Continuing intonation is marked with a comma (,); final intonation is marked with a period (.); and rising intonation is marked with a question mark (?). Other conventions, such as lengthening (marked with a colon (:)), pauses (marked with an ellipsis (.. for shorter pauses and ... for longer pauses)), and truncated IU's (marked with a double hyphen (- -), are also labeled. Uncertain morpheme glosses or translations are followed by a question mark in parentheses (?). Unglossed morphemes are represented by double asterisks (**). Clitic boundaries are marked with an equals sign (=) and suffix boundaries are marked with a single dash (-). A free translation is provided at the end of the transcription.

1	*ah*	*3tʌŋ-pʌ*	*3tʌŋ-pʌ,*
	ah	ancient-NOM	ancient-NOM

2	... *3ya:*	*kʌ́tti*	*1mo*	*ro.*
	... yak:	many	COP	REP

3 .. *ʌ̀tse* *3ya* *kʌ́tti* *1mo-pʌ* *ko?*
.. like.this yak many COP-NOM EVID

4 ... *3ya* *kʌ́tti* *1mo-pʌ* *ko* *ten:.*
... yak many COP-NOM EVID then:

5 *2ʈoŋ:* *tʌn.tʌni* *ten,*
place: very.many then

6 *2no-pʌ* *2ʈoŋ=ri* *1ʈu=tse* *1lʌ=tse,*
tall-NOM place=LOC sit=CC do=CC

7 *ah:* *3ya* *kʌ́tti* *1mo-pʌ* *ko* *ten,*
ah: yak many be-NOM EVID then

8 *4hri* *4hri* *4khya=ri.*
one one place=LOC

9 ... *1ʈu=tse* *ten,*
... stay=CC then

10 *3ya=tse=ri,*
yak=PL=LOC

11 .. *1chi* *4khya=ri* *1chi* *1a-yaŋ-pʌ:,*
.. grass place=LOC grass NEG-get-NOM:

12 .. *2kyu* *4khya=ri* *2kyu* *1a-yaŋ-pʌ:,*
.. water place=LOC water NEG-get-NOM:

13 *1khimi* *3ya* *3naŋ=ko=ri,*
3.PL yak inside=DEF=LOC

14 *3tsoŋ=tse* *1lʌ=tse,*
meet=CC do=CC

15 ... *ʌ̀tse* *1khim=ko* *kre,*
... like.this 3.PL=DEF decide

16 *1ha-le* *1lʌ* *3pi* *nʌ?*
how-** do say EVID

17 ... *ah* *1khimi,*
... ah 3.PL

18 *ʈhâteti=ko.*
alf.half=DEF

19 .. *1u:* *a:* *3naŋ=ri.*
.. DIST: EMPH: inside=LOC

20 .. *3yul* *a* *3naŋ=ri.*
.. village EMPH inside=LOC

21 .. *1yʌ-ro.*
.. go-IMPER

22 .. *1u=ri* *ten* *1tsʌ-pʌ* *1yaŋ* *1mi* *1a-yaŋ* *1mi,*
.. DIST=LOC then eat-NOM get EVID NEG-get EVID

23 *1chi* *1yaŋ* *1mi* *1a-yaŋ* *1mi:,*
grass get EVID NEG-get EVID:

24 *2kyu* *1yaŋ* *1mi* *1a-yaŋ* *1mi:,*
water get EVID NEG-get EVID:

25 .. *1u=ri* *kʌ́tti* *2ki* *1mi,*
.. DIST=LOC many luxury EVID

26 .. *2ki* *1mu,*
.. luxury EVID

27 .. *'1u=ri* *1yʌ-ro.'*
.. 'DIST=LOC go-IMP'

28 .. *3pi=tse* *1lʌ=tse* *1khim* *3naŋ=ko=ri* *ten*
.. say=CC do=CC 3.PL inside=DEF=LOC then

kre llʌ=tse llʌ=tse ten.
decide do=CC do=CC then

29 *3ya:,*
yak:

30 *tipal=ko.*
some=DEF

31 ... *oh* *2kʌŋ=tʌr=tse,*[1]
... oh mountain=ABL=PL

32 *4phra=tʌr=tse,*
hill=ABL=PL

[1] In rapid speech, there is some alternation between /ʌ/ and /a/ for *2kʌŋ* 'mountain' and *2khʌŋ* 'cold'.

33 *2kʌŋ=tʌr=tse,*
mountain=ABL=PL

34 *1khim=ko 2mwe a: 3yul- -*
3(PL)=DEF next EMPH: village- -

35 .. *2mwe 3yul=ri tshʌ́rti-pʌ ro,*
.. next illage=LOC go.down-NOM REP

36 *1khim=ko oh.*
3.PL=DEF oh

37 .. *'kʌ́tti 2ki-pʌ 1mo 1mu,*
.. 'many luxury-NOM COP EVID

38 *2ta 2ta 1mo 1mu' 3pi=tse.*
what what COP EVID' say=CC

39 .. *2cu 1khim=ko ten,*
.. after 3.PL=DEF then

40 *ʌ́le 1lʌ=tse ten,*
like.this do=CC then

41 *3yu-tsʌ 1mo ten,*
descend-CONT COP then

42 *tipal=ko ten,*
some=DEF then

43 *mʌ́kyu=ro tshʌ́r.ti 3yu-tse 1mo ten,*
down=LOC down.** descend-CONT COP then

44 .. *besi=ri tshʌ́r.ti 3yu-pʌ 1tʌ nʌ,*
.. valley=LOC down.** descend-NOM become EVID

45 *1khim photi=ko,*
3.PL group=DEF

46 *besi=ri tshʌ́rti 3yu=tse 1lʌ=tse ten,*
valley=LOC down descend=CC do=CC then

47 ... *3ya tipal=ko.*
... yak some=DEF

48 *ʌ́tse ten,*
like.this then

49 *tʌle,*
like.this (?)

50 *mʌ́kyu=ro:,*
down=LOC:

51 .. *3yu* *1mo:,*
.. descend COP:

52 *1chi* *nʌ* *1chi* *1mwe-pʌ.*
grass CONJ grass plenty-NOM

53 .. *2kyu* *nʌ* *2kyu* *1mwe-pʌ,*
.. water CONJ water plenty-NOM

54 .. *2ki* *nʌ* *2ki-pʌ,*
.. comfort CONJ comfort-NOM

55 .. *tʌn.tʌne* *2ki* *ra:=tse* *1lʌ=tse:,*
.. very.many comfort **:=CC do=CC:

56 *tuŋ* *a:,*
down(?) EMPH:

57 *1khim* *ah:,*
3.PL ah:

58 *3sro-pʌ* *shen=tse* *tuŋ* *ah:.*
friend other=PL DIST EMPH:

59 .. *oh* *2kʌŋ=ri* *1ʈu-pʌ:,*
.. Oh hill=LOC stay-NOM:

60 .. *4phra=ri* *1ʈu-pʌ:,*
.. mountain=LOC stay-NOM:

61 *3ya=tse=ri* *shʌ́mle--*
yak=PL=LOC forget--

62 *tʌntʌ* *2ki* *ra=tse,*
many comfort **=CC

63 *shʌ́mle.phre* *1yʌ* *1mi,*
forget go EVID

64 *1u* *a* *3ya:,*
DIST EMPH yak:

65 *tipal=ko.*
some=DEF

66 .. *2cu tipal=ko,*
.. after some=DEF

67 *shʌ́mle.phre ten 2cucu 1khim=ko oh:,*
forget then after 3.PL=DEF oh:

68 .. *tuŋ=ri 2ye:-pʌ:,*
.. DIST=LOC return:-NOM:

69 *2ye-pʌ:,*
return-NOM:

70 *1naŋ=tse=ni 1a-khʌ-pʌ.*
think=CC=ADV (?) NEG-come-NOM

71 .. *tʌntʌ 2ki ra=tse.*
.. many comfort **=CC

72 .. *4she ah 3sro-pʌ=tse 2co-pʌ=ko shʌ́mle.phre ʌ̀tse 1lʌ=tse,*
.. other ah friend-NOM=PL all-NOM=DEF forget ʌtse do=CC

73 *1khim=ko ʌ̀: 1lʌ=tse ten,*
3(PL)=DEF like.this: do=CC then

74 *ʌ̀tse,*
like.this

75 *1ʧu 1mi,*
stay EVID

76 *2cucu 1u:,*
after DIST:

77 *1ŋyaŋ 3yul 1ʧu-pʌ 3ya=ko.*
1(PL)(GEN) village stay-NOM yak=DEF

78 *ʧoŋ a 2no-pʌ=ri 1ʧu-pʌ 3ya=ko ten:.*
EMPH EMPH tall-NOM=LOC stay-NOM yak=DEF then:

79 *1khʌ ki 1a-khʌ:,*
come or NEG-come:

80 .. *3pi=tse 1lʌ=tse ten,*
.. say=CC do=CC then

81 *3naŋ=ri 2 2ŋyo 1ʈu 1mi ten.*
inside=LOC look stay EVID then

82 *3sro=tse 1khʌ ki 1a-khʌ 3pi=tse.*
friend=ERG come or NEG-come say=CC

83 *2cu: 1u:.*
after: DIST:

84 .. *1a-khʌ-pʌ ten,*
.. NEG-come-NOM then

85 *2cucu ten,*
after then

86 *ʌ'le 11ʌ=tse ten,*
like.this do=CC then

87 *1a-khʌ-pʌ ten,* 88 *2cucu oh:.*
NEG-come-NOM then, after oh:

89 .. *2kʌŋ=ri 1ʈu-pʌ 3ya=tse=tse,*
.. hill=LOC stay-NOM yak=ERG=PL

90 *1khi mlaŋ.cha 1mi.*
3(SG) curse EVID

91 *1hai-1e 1khi mlaŋ.cha pi nʌ,*
how-** 3(SG) curse say EVID

92 .. *2tsu photi=ko ten,*
.. PROX group=DEF then

93 *tuŋ=ko=ri mʌkyu 1yʌ photi=ko oh:,*
down.there=DEF=LOC down go group=DEF oh:

94 *a ten,*
ah then

95 *4tshe-pʌ=ri 4tshe-pʌ,*
hot-NOM=LOC hot-NOM

96 *4a-thya-pʌ,*
NEG-bear-NOM

97 *2khʌŋ=ko=ri 2khʌŋ-pʌ,*
cold=DEF=LOC cold-NOM,

98 *4a-thya-pʌ,*
NEG-bear-NOM

99 *'1tʌ 11o-to,'*
become do-IMPER

100 *3pi=tse 11ʌ=tse,*
say=CC do=CC

101 *1khim=ko=tse ten,*
3(PL)=DEF=ERG then

102 *ʌle sʌ̀rap 1piin 1mi.*
like.this curse give EVID

103 *2cu: sʌ̀rap 1ʈe=tse 11ʌ=tse,*
after: curse get=CC do=CC

104 *tì̩ŋi ten 2tsu ah:,*
today then PROX ah:

105 *mɑ̄ji=ko 1tʌ=tsi,*
buffalo=DEF become=PERF

106 *3ya=ko mɑ̄ji 1tʌ nʌ ten,*
yak=DEF buffalo become EVID then

107 *.. 1tʌ-pʌ mɑ̄ji=tse,*
.. become-NOM buffalo=PL

108 *ah:,*
ah:

109 *4tshe-pʌ 1khʌ nʌ,*
heat-NOM come EVID

110 *4tshe-pʌ 4a-thya=tse 11ʌ=tse,*
hot-NOM NEG-bear=CC do=CC

111 *.. 2kyu=ri 2shu-pʌ:,*
.. water=LOC wash-NOM:

112 *pokhari=ri 2shu-pʌ:,*
lake=LOC wash-NOM:

113 *.. ah 2khʌŋ=tse 11ʌ=tse ten,*
.. ah cold=CC do=CC then

114 *2khʌŋ=tse* *2khʌŋ=tse* *4a-thya-pʌ* *1lʌ=tse* *ten,*
cold=CC cold=CC NEG-bear-NOM do=CC then

115 .. *pora* *2coŋ-pʌ* *tuŋ=tse* *1lʌ* *1ʈu-pʌ,*
.. bag similar-NOM cover=CC do stay-NOM

116 *1u* *sʌ'rap=ko:,*
DIST curse=DEF:

117 *tuŋ* *a* *3sro-pʌ,*
down(?) ah friends

118 *2kʌŋ=ri* *1ʈu-pʌ* *3ya:,*
hill=LOC stay-NOM yak:

119 *sʌ'rap* *1ʈe=tse* *1lʌ=tse:,*
curse get=CC do=CC:

120 .. *orcuŋ* *chelu* *1tʌ* *1mi.*
.. like.this ** become EVID

121 *1u=ko=ri* *1ŋyaŋ* *naŋ=tse* *oŋ* *lian* *ko,*
DIST=DEF=LOC 1.PL think=CC ** EVID **

122 *ah:,*
ah:

123 *3sʌ-ni* *1lʌ=tse* *ten,*
nice-** do=CC then

124 .. *3laŋ* *2ki,*
.. thing comfort

125 *3pi=tse* *1lʌ=tse* *ten,*
say=CC do=CC then

126 *3sro-pʌ=tse=ri* *dharam* *3pi* *1lʌ* *1a-tʌ,*
friend-NOM=PL=LOC cheat say do NEG-become

127 *3pi-pʌ:* *ten.*
say-NOM: then

128 .. *kʌ'tha* *2tso=ko* *ten* *nʌ* *ten,*
.. story PROX=DEF then EVID then

129 *okay?*
okay

'A long, long time ago, there were many yaks. Like this, there were many yaks. Very many of them staying in a tall place; there were many yaks; staying, these yaks couldn't get grass in the grass place, water in the water place. The yaks, meeting inside (amongst themselves), like this they made a decision (decided what to do?). Half of them would go to a village, to see if they could or couldn't get food, water, grass. There might be many luxuries, saying 'go there,' they amongst themselves decided, some of the yaks. From the mountains, from the hills, from the mountains, they went down to the next village.

'How many luxuries, what is this place' (they) saying, after, they doing like this, going, some of them went down. Some of them/yaks went down into the valley. And then, like this, they went down. Much grass and much water, there were many comforts. Those yaks, having many comforts, forgot their friends staying on the mountain. Later, they, some of them, forgot. They were comfortable, they didn't think to return. All of the other friends later forgetting, they doing like this, stayed.

The village yaks, the yaks staying in the tall (place), saying 'are they coming or not coming,' they looked. Saying 'are the friends coming or not coming' they cursed them. After, the not coming ones, the ones who stayed on the hill (the yaks) cursed them. This group of yaks down there cannot bear the heat. 'Do this,' they saying, they cannot bear the cold. Giving the curse, now the yak will become water buffalo. The becoming-buffalo, the heat comes; they wash in the water. They will wash in the lake. In the cold, they cannot bear the cold. They will stay covered in a bag-like thing. Those yaks who stayed gave a curse. Like this it happened.

What are we to think (of this)? Be nice to your friends. (We) say don't cheat your friends. This story is finished. Okay?'

Appendix B: A Manange glossary

This glossary is the product of three field trips to Nepal in 1998, 1999 and 2001, and is sponsored by a grant from the National Science Foundation (BNS 9729005). The entries for this glossary come from several Manange speakers with whom I've worked during the different field trips. The primary purpose of this glossary is to provide a list of the working vocabulary of the Manange language in a comparative format with another, previously published glossary (Hoshi 1986a). While this glossary contains close to one thousand entries, it should by no means be considered a complete dictionary of the Manange language. It should also be noted that some of the Manange entries show evidence of being loanwords from other languages, including Nepali, Tibetan, and English. Further research is needed before a more complete and comprehensive understanding of the Manange lexicon can be attained.

This Manange glossary is divided into four sections: 'Manange' lexical entries, 'Alternate Entries' used for the same English gloss/translation, a section with the corresponding entry found in Hoshi's (1986a) 'Praakaa' glossary, the English 'Gloss,' and a 'Notes' section. The items in the Manange lexical entries section are ordered according to place of articulation, using the orthography of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). The entries follow the order used in glossaries and dictionaries of other Tibeto-Burman languages. For vowels: /a, an, ʌ, ʌn, e, en, i, in, o, u, un/. For consonants: /k, kʰ, ŋ, tʃ, tʃʰ, ʈ, ʈʰ, ts, tsʰ, t, tʰ, p, pʰ, m ,n, ny, j, ɾ, l, w, s, ʂ, h/. The items found in the 'Alternate Entries' section are those that were elicited by other Manange consultants. In some cases there is not unanimous agreement between all consultants concerning the translation or gloss of the item. In other cases, the item in the 'alternate entries' section differs from the item in the 'Manange' section only with respect to the pronunciation of a particular segment (e.g., *ulkja* versus *olkja* 'red'). For some words, only the segmental information has been obtained, and further research will hopefully reveal the suprasegmental features of these words. The 'Praakaa' section of the glossary contains items collected by Hoshi for the (1986a) glossary of Praakaa Manange. The English 'gloss' section contains the closest approximate English translation or meaning for each Manange entry. The 'notes' section of the glossary contains optional additional information about certain entries, such as additional meanings or morpheme glosses/phrasal translations for polymorphemic entries. Each Manange entry in this glossary is numbered, and immediately following this glossary is a cross index of the Manange entries, sorted alphabetically by the English gloss.

Index	Manange	Alternate Entries	Prakaa (Hoshi 1986)	English Gloss	Notes
1	a-			negative prefix	
2	a			future evidential particle	
3	1aku		3ʔaaku	younger paternal uncle	also m's eld. brother-in-law
4	ákjepʌ 3pipʌ			to criticize/insult	lit. 'ugly say'
5	àkʰe		3ʔakʰje	grandfather	
6	ákʰepʌ		4teela 3tʰjepʌ	busy, enterprising	
7	ákʰopʌ			to hate	neg + 'like'
8	àŋje		2ʔaani	paternal aunt, girl	
9	àŋje 1mo 1mo			girlfriend	lit. 'girl exists'
10	àtʃuŋ	1atʃo, 1atʃoŋ	3ʔacoŋ	younger brother, boy	
11	2atsaŋpʌ		4ʔatsaŋpa *or* 1ŋuʔi 4atsaŋpʌ	dirty	
12	atsiŋkʌt	4kʷʰe nàpraŋ 1tʰjʌpʌ		hornet, wasp	lit. 'big honey fly'
13	àtʌ		3ʔatʌ	older brother	
14	atòlʌtsʌ			brother's son/nephew	3tsʌ = 'son'
15	atòlʌtsʌmi			brother's daughter/niece	
16	âtʌpʌ	kʰotro 3asʌpʌ		bad	also 3asʌpʌ
17	1ate	proŋko	3ʔati	crow	
18	atopʌ			unnecessary	
19	1apʌ		3ʔapʌ	father	
20	àpʌ 1amʌ 1ɾepʌ kòla			orphan	lit. 'child who's mother/father don't exist'
21	àptʰjʌpʌ			father's older brother	
22	aputi			childless	maybe Nepali neg + doll *or* neg + 'vagina' slang

Index	Manange	Alternate Entries	Prakaa (Hoshi 1986)	English Gloss	Notes
23	àmp			mango	Nepali
24	àmʌ		3ʔamʌ	mother	
25	àmtʃaŋ			father's yg. brother's wife	
26	ámlepʌ			memorable	
27	àmtʰjepʌ		3ʔaaru	mother's eld. sister	also f's eld. brother's wife
28	àmtsi		3ʔamci	doctor	
29	ànʌ		3ʔanʌ	older sister	
30	ànolʌtsʌ			sister's son/cousin	
31	ànolʌtsʌmi			sister's daughter/cousin	
32	àntsʌŋ			mother's yg. brother's wife	
33	àɾa		3ara	alcohol, liquor	
34	àɾa mɾempʌ		1mɾẽ	drunk/to become drunk	
35	1aɾe (1mo)	1ajĩ	4ʔete, 4ʔajĩ, 4ʔala	no, is not	
36	àɾu			maternal aunt	
37	àle	2pʰjuŋ kòla		boy	
38	àle 1mo 1mo			boyfriend	lit. 'boy exists'
39	aloŋ 1kʰʌpʌ			tide	lit. 'tide comes'
40	àʃaŋ			maternal uncle	
41	àʃipʌ		3ʈu	to live	
42	àʃipʌ toni			lifelong	
43	àʃipʌ tsʌtsʌŋ lʌ̀pʌ			to pretend	
44	âsʌpʌ			bad character	
45	âsolpʌ			dim	
46	asopʌ			right side up	
47	ʌŋkuɾ			grape	Nepali
48	íkʌ	2tsʰi	2jikʌ	letter, word	

Index	Manange	Alternate Entries	Prakaa (Hoshi 1986)	English Gloss	Notes
49	inʌɾ			(water) well	
50	2u			cave	
51	1u		4ʔutsu or 4ʔtsoko	distal demonstrative	
52	ûkpʌ			owl	
53	ùʈupʌ			to sit on an egg	
54	utsʌɾi	utsu kaŋɾi		at that time, after that time	
55	2upʌ	2ʃupʌ *or* tsoɾpʌ		to cover	
56	1uɾi		4uɾi	there	w/locative case
57	ùɾkja		3ʔuɾkja	yellow	
58	etsʌpʌ			rusty	
59	òlkja		3wolkja	red	
60	oɾtsʰe 3pipʌ			to request/thank	
61	2ka		1kaa	blood	
62	kalpa			century	
63	kamʌɾ			shawl	
64	2kaŋ	2kʌŋ *or* pokto	2malkaŋ	snowy mountain	
65	kàŋkje	4siɾpʌ	3kaŋkji	comb	
66	2kaŋro			mountainside, slope	
67	2ka 2pʰiɾi			upward	
68	2ka 2pʰiɾi 3ʈipʌ			to pull up	2tipʌ= 'pluck'
69	kaso	ŋóto	2ŋotoo	correct, honest, true	
70	3kʌ			glacier	
71	kʌ́tti 1lʌpʌ			to try/try again	lit. 'really do'
72	kʌ́tti		2kʌti or 4kaa 2ti	many, how much, how many, really, too much	
73	kʌnʈʌ kʌnʈʌɾi		3cʰutse	hour	
74	kɐ̄ɾtɛ̄			small knife	
75	1kʌl			banana	
76	kʌ̀so		3kʌso *or* 4ʔoɾcʰee	yes	

Index	Manange	Alternate Entries	Prakaa (Hoshi 1986)	English Gloss	Notes
77	1ki		3ki	feces	
78	kîkja			pocket	
79	1ki 2kjepʌ		3ki 3kjʌpʌ	sweet	
80	1ki 2pɾimpʌ			to evacuate bowls	lit. 'feces hit'
81	kimi			2nd. pl. absolutive pronoun	
81.1	kimpʌ	3poɾ 1jʌpʌ	1tii *or* 3tʰu	to take	
82	kimlʌ			2nd. pl genitive pronoun	
83	kǐni		2kjoopʌ *or* 2kini	fast, quickly, soon	
84	kǐni 1lʌpʌ		2kini 3lʌ	to hurry	
85	2kipʌ	tʌŋpʌ or kʌpʌ		pleasant	
86	1kipʌ			snap/break	
87	kêkẽ		3lopci 3pīpʌ *or* 4kjekjẽ	teacher	
88	kepʌ	ʂaŋ ʃiŋ		nature	
89	=ko			definite clitic	
90	ko			evidential particle	
91	koke ʂipʌ			to whistle	
92	koʈʰa	4tʰī koʈʰa	2tsʌpe	room	Nepali
93	koʈʌlo			ball	
94	kòʈê			button	
95	kòto			walnut	
96	kopʌ	2ta 1jaŋpʌ		to understand	lit. 'what get'
97	kopjaŋ	pŭlûŋ	2puluŋ	crawling insect	
98	kopʃi			horizontal wooden support beam	
99	kòma		3kjalpu	bag	
100	1kompʌ	1kwempʌ *or* kòla 1kompʌ	3kwẽ	to clothe, get dressed, wear	

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101	4kompʌ		3l̥akã	temple	
102	4kom 2pɾimpʌ			to meditate	
103	koɾo			traveller around a gompa	
104	kōlâ		3kwẽ *or* 3kweŋ	clothing, dress	
105	kòla		3kola	child	
106	kōlâ pʰimpʌ		1pʰĩ	to undress	
107	kōlâ 2tsʰaŋpʌ takẽ			closet	
108	kōlâ 4ʈʰupʌ 3mi			tailour	
109	kôle		4kole 4kole *or* 4kole 3lʌtse	slow, slowly	
110	kóle 1kʰʌpʌ	tuk 1ajaŋpʌ	4kʌlee 3kʰʌpʌ	difficult	may also mean 'painful'
111	kòʃo	kòɾʃo	1kʌlʃoo	cup	
112	kosʌɾ			ceremony	
113	kosi	4je or 4jẽ		balcony	maybe related to 'mountain pass'
114	ku			holy image/statue	
115	1ku		3mlaŋkuŋ *or* 3ku	chest/throat	
116	2ku		1ku	nine	
117	1kuŋ		3kuŋ	urine	
118	1kuŋ 2pɾimpʌ			to urinate	
119	kuŋɾi			center	
120	kútʃu		1kucu	ninety	
121	kutuŋ			bell pepper/black pepper	
122	3kupʌ		2kuu	to wait, remain	
123	2kumpʌ		1sʌ 3tʰjʌpʌ	expensive, valuable	
124	kùni	kùni 3ʈe	3kuni	curried meal	3ʈe=saag, spinach

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125	kuɾi	ku		corner	
126	kuɾiŋ		2cucuu 2lo	next year	
127	kuɾiŋ 1lʌpʌ			to worship	
128	kuɾiŋ 1lʌpʌ pɑ̄ɾpɑ̂			articles for worship	
129	kùɾu	kʌ̀ru	3karu	barley	
130	kùɾuŋ		2kuruŋ	intestines	
131	kuɾpʌ	2kjaŋ		fried bread	
132	4khulpʌ		1kulkul 3lʌ	to move	4kulkul 4lʌpʌ
133	kʷempʌ pǔlûŋ			inchworm	
134	2kʷepʌ		2kʷe	to lift	
135	1kjaŋpʌ		3kjaŋ	to play	
136	1kjaŋpʌ nʌɾ			toy	
137	3kjʌ	3kjʌŋ or 3kjɑ̃	4kjʌ	2nd sg. absolutive pronoun	
138	3kjʌlʌ	3kjʌŋlʌ		2nd sg. genitive pronoun	
139	kjʌlaŋ			beeswax	
140	3kjʌtse			yourself	ergative, agentive
141	2kju	2kju ʃoŋ	1kju	water, liquid	
142	2kju 1tsʰo		3ʃjoŋ	lake, river	
143	2kjupʌ		3kju	to run	
144	3kjupʌ		4kʰju	to buy	
145	2kjuɾi 1kjaŋpʌ		4cal 1ti	to swim	lit. 'play in water'
146	2kjuŋpʌ			sour	
147	kjuŋ		3ʃjoŋ	valley	
148	kjúŋɾo			water tap	
149	1kje		1kje	voice, language	
150	1kje	1tsʰaŋ	1tsʰaŋ	basket/cage	
151	1kjẽ		3kje	cultivated field	
152	1kjẽ		1kjẽ	cooked rice	

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153	1kje 1lupʌ 4tʃʰe			dictionary	
154	1kje 3phɾa			buckwheat	
155	1kjẽ phólto̱ŋ			ball of rice (to eat)	lit. 'rice ball/circle'
156	1kje pʷe			naked barley	
157	kjèlu	kìlu		translation	lit. 'voice teach'
158	3kjelpʌ		2kjel	to win	
159	1kjempʌ		3kjeŋpʌ	bitter	
160	2kjepʌ	3kepʌ	1ŋuʔi *or* 3tsaŋpʌ *or* 2tʰi 3lʌ	pretty, nice	
161	kjôpʌ		2kjʌpʌ	lungs	
162	kjoɾo 1jʌpʌ	3jupʌ	1kyoroo 4yʌ	to go downhill	
163	1krapʌ		1kjete	to cry, weep	
164	1krʌ		3krʌ	hair	
165	1krʌ 4mjupʌ			braided hair	
166	1krʌ 3siɾpʌ taŋ			hairbrush	
167	krʌ́mʌ	kúɾʌm	2krʌmʌ	cheek	
168	1krepʌ		3kree	to climb	
169	1krẽ		3kre	hips/waist	
170	1kropʌ	ʃaŋpʌ	1luŋ	to burn, be burned	
171	2kʰaŋpʌ		1kʰaŋpʌ	cold weather	
172	1kʰapʌ			to feed	
173	kʰanʌ			nose ornament	
174	kʰàɾkja			dried, dry	
175	kʰàɾkja 1lʌpʌ		1saŋ	to dry	
176	1kʰʌpʌ		3kʰʌ *or* 3pʰee	to come	
177	1kʰʌpʌ 4tʃe		3pjepʌr	newspaper	
178	kʰʌmʌr	2sʌr		star	
179	kʰʌ́nʈi			sugar/candy	English 'candy'?
180	kʰʌ̀ntʃʌ			blouse, shirt	

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181	kʰʌntʃʌ poʃʌ			sleeve	
182	1kʰʌɾ		3kʰaar	neck	
183	1kʰi		3kʰi	3rd. sg. absolutive pronoun	
184	4kʰiŋ	4kʰĩ	2kaŋ	snow	
185	1kʰitse			3rd. sg. ergative pronoun	
186	2kʰipʌ		3njẽ	to borrow	
187	1kʰipʌ		3kʰiipʌ	to sneeze	
188	kʰìmi		1kʰimi	3rd. pl. absolutive pronoun	
189	kʰìmitse			3rd. pl. ergative pronoun	
190	kʰìmɾi			3rd. pl. dative pronoun	
191	kʰìmlʌ			3rd. pl. genitive pronoun	
192	kʰìimi tsʰá?ɾaŋ		4kʰimi 3tsʰaaraŋ	3rd. pl. inclusive	lit. 'they all'
193	1kʰiɾi			3rd. sg. dative	
194	kʰil	lè̀le		milk porridge	Nepali
195	1kʰilʌ			3rd. sg. genitive	
196	2kʰu			liquid rice/stewed foods	
197	kʰuku			juice	
198	kʰuku naŋtʃuŋ			coconut	
199	kʰuŋ		1kʰuŋ	window, hole in wall, hollow	
200	kʰuti	4kʷʰe		honey	
201	1kʰupʌ		3kʰu *or* 4jo 3kʰu	to cheat/steal	
202	kʰù̀ju		3kʰuju	old woman	also 'that woman'
203	2kʰuɾpʌ		1toplaŋ 4jʌ	to fall down (person)	
204	kʰûɾsiŋ	kʰûɾsi	3kʌlti	curved knife	
205	kʰeta			cattle	
206	kʰeta 4kʰju			any group of animals	4kʰju=sheep

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207	2kʰepʌ		3kʰjepʌ *or* 2koŋ 3kʰjepʌ	cheap	
208	kʰempʌ	kʰe 3sʌpʌ 1tʌ1mi		qualified	
209	kʰer 3pipʌ			to waste	
210	4kʰerpʌ		4kʰjʌr	to push/insert	
211	kʰòktoŋ	hòktoŋ	1kʰuŋ	hole/ditch	
212	2kʰopʌ			suitable/to like	
213	4kʰompʌ			to fill	also kʷʰempʌ
214	kʰònta			pillow	
215	kʰoɾpʌ			beggar	
216	kʰoɾpʌ			life universal	
217	kʰôɾpʌ			curved knife	same as kʰuɾsiŋ?
218	4kʰoɾpʌ			bent	also 4kʰoɾʔ 1lʌpʌ, 3kurʔ
219	4kʰja		4kʰja *or* 3seʌ	place	
220	1kʰjapʌ		2li	to throw	
221	1kʰjapʌ	1ɲepʌ		to rot/decay/break apart	tʌ̀ŋkjʌŋ 1kʰja 1mi 'the ice broke apart'
222	kʰjâpʌ		4kʰjaapʌ	king	
223	kʰjâpʌ 4tʰĩ			palace	
224	4kʰju		4kʰju	sheep (general)	
225	4kʰju 1pʰo			male sheep	
226	4kʰju 3mo			female sheep	
227	4kʰjupʌ		4we	to plow	
228	4kʰje	4kʰẽ		spoon	
229	1kʰje	1kʰe		blanket	
230	4kʰje		4kʰje	work	
231	4kʰe 1lʌpʌ		4kʰje 3lʌ	to work	lit. 'work do'

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232	4kʰje 1akʰʌpʌ			to lose/loss of profit	lit. 'work does not come'
233	4kʰje 1kʰʌpʌ			profit	lit. 'work comes'
234	4kʰje 1lʌpʌ 3mi			slave/servant/worker	lit. 'work doing person'
235	4kʰjẽ			way/road	
236	4kʰjẽɾi 2kju			puddle	lit. 'water in road'
237	kʰjèntse		3kʰjentsee	neighbour	
238	kʰjôkoɾ	kʰjôkɾo		old man	extended to all animates
239	4kʰjoɾ			copper	
240	4kʰɾi		1kri	shadow	
241	4kʰɾi hʌ			shade	
242	4kʷʰe		4kʰwe	song	
243	4kʷʰe 2primpʌ		4kʰwe 1prĩ	to sing	
244	4kʷʰe	kʰuti		honey	
245	4kʷʰe nàpraŋ			honey bee	
246	4kʷʰe nàpraŋ 3tsaŋ			beehive	lit 'honey bee bed/nest'
247	1ŋʌ		3ŋʌ	1st. pl. absolutive pronoun	
248	4ŋʌ		4ŋʌ	five	
249	ŋ̂tʃu		2ŋacu	fifty	
250	ŋ̂tʃu 4ʂi			fifty one	
251	1ŋʌtse			1st. sg. ergative pronoun	
252	1ŋʌɾi			1st. sg. dative pronoun	
253	1ŋʌlʌ			1st. sg. genitive pronoun	
254	1ŋi	1ŋjʌŋ	1njila	1st. pl. exclusive pronoun	maybe also inclusive?
255	2ŋi		1njii	seven	
256	4ŋi		4njii	two	
257	ŋ̂itʃu		1njĩcu	seventy	
258	ŋ̂itʃu 4ʂi			seventy one	

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259	4ŋi 1tʰo			second floor (of building)	
260	2ŋipʌ		1njii *or* 1njii 3ʃor	to laugh	
261	2ŋipʌ		1nji	to ask	
262	4ŋipʌ la	tʌwʌ ŋipʌ	4towʌ 4ŋjipʌ	February	
263	4ŋi 4pʰɾʌ			two hundred	
264	ŋ̀ima	njʌ̀mʌ	3nyemʌ	bird	
265	ŋ̌imâ			gill	
266	ŋ̌imâ		3nyemaŋ	ear	
267	ŋ̌imâ kʰoleŋ			earring	
268	ŋ̀ima 3tsaŋ		2tsaŋ	bird nest	
269	ŋ̀ima 2pʰuŋ		1pʰuŋ	bird egg	
270	ŋ̀ima 2mʷi		1muʔi	feather	2mʷi='fur'
271	ŋ̀ima 1ʃʌpʌ		3ʃipjʌ	bird wing	
272	ŋ̀imu		3nyumuŋ	mouse	Hoshi 'rat'
273	2ŋimpʌ			frightening, dangerous	
274	1ŋimpʌ		3njĩpʌ	old objects (inanimate)	
275	ŋ̂iʃu		2njuʃu	twenty	
276	ŋ̂iʃu 4ʂi			twenty one	
277	ŋo 2aʃipʌ 3mi			stranger	
278	ŋo 2ʃipʌ		1ʃii	to know	
279	ŋōkɾô̂ŋ		2ŋokroŋ	forehead	
280	ŋoŋtsʌɾi		3ŋwɛ̃ *or* 1tʰʌnje	ahead/forward/in front of	
281	ŋoŋtsʌɾi 1jʌpʌ			to go forward	
282	ŋ̀ótô		1tajĩli 4ʔjĩli *or* 2ŋotoo	truly, true, certainly	
283	1ŋjʌŋtse	1ŋitse		1st. pl. ergative pronoun	
284	1ŋjʌŋ tsʰáʔraŋ			1st. pl. inclusive pronoun	
285	1ŋjʌŋɾi	1ŋiɾi		1st. pl. dative pronoun	
286	1ŋjʌŋlʌ	1ŋilʌ *or* 1ŋi		1st. pl. genitive pronoun	
287	ŋjutse 1lʌpʌ		2tur	to compare	

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288	3ŋje		2njee	milk	
289	3ŋje 1ŋimpʌ			curd	lit. 'old milk'
290	3ŋje 3ŋjepʌ			to milk	
291	ŋjeŋje 1lʌpʌ			to irritate/annoy	
292	1ŋjepʌ	3mulpʌ	2mul	to chew foods	3mulpʌ=chew candy
293	4ŋjepʌ			to spill/pour/squeeze liquids	
294	1ŋjempʌ			to listen	
295	1ŋjempʌ		3njẽ	to lend/borrow objects	2kʰipʌ=lend/borrow money
296	ŋjetse ŋ̀ima			parrot	
297	ŋjè̀tse	ŋè̀tse	3njʌtse	evening	
298	ŋjōkrô		2njokroo	breasts	
299	3ŋjopʌ		2njo	to look	
300	3ŋjopʌ			to taste/test/try out	also 'look'
301	2ŋʷopʌ			to fry foods	
302	3tʃaŋ		2cʰaŋ	north	
303	tʃâŋku		2caŋku	green	
304	1tʃapʌ		3caa	to search	
305	1tʃampʌ		2preetsʌ	small/little/tiny	
306	1tʃampʌ kò̀la			infant	
307	tʃʌ̀pʰɾe		3tsʌpree	eighteen	
308	1tʃi			financial account	
309	tʃipɾi	pretsʌ		little bit/amount	
310	tʃito			'wait a minute'	
311	2tʃu		1cu	ten	
312	2tʃu	2tʃu2tʃu		after/later/next	
313	tʃuk tipʌ		1ɻraa	to separate	
314	tʃù̀ku		3tsurku	nineteten	

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315	tʃù̀kɾi		3tsukrii	eleven	
316	tʃù̀ŋi			twelve	
317	2tʃu2tʃu hʌptʌɾi			next week	
318	2tʃu2tʃu 3laɾi		2cucuu 1lʌ	next month	
319	tʃù̀tʰu		3tsutu	sixteen	
320	tʃù̀pʰli		4tsupli	fourteen	
321	tʃù̀psɛ̃			thirteen	
322	tʃúɾpe			dried cheese	
323	2tʃe		kʰolɛ̃	ring	
324	3tʃe	3tʃʌ		tea	
325	tʃè̀ŋe		3tseenjii	seventeen	
326	tʃépkjêl	tikjʌ		hawk/raptor/eagle	
327	3tʃempʌ		2pʰwolpʌ	soft	
328	tʃentʃʰu			tear respect (n.)	
329	3tʃel 1jʌpʌ			to go pay respect to lama	nétʃel 'pilgrim'
330	tʃò̀ktsʌ	tʃò̀ktsu		table	
331	2tʃoŋ	2tʃotʃoŋ	4r̥ii *or* 3coo 2coŋpʌ	same/similar	
332	tʃoŋko ŋ̀ima			sparrow	
333	2tʃopʌ	2saŋpʌ	1co	to hang	
334	tʃōlo			playing dice	
335	tʃoloŋ	tʃékjêl		vulture	
336	tʃʰaŋmʌ			cricket	
337	2tʃʰapʌ			to bargain/count	
338	1tʃʰi		3tʃʰi	grass	
339	2tʃʰi			lard	
340	1tʃʰi			plateau	
341	1tʃi ŋ̀imu			mole	lit. 'grass mouse'
342	2tʃʰimpʌ		2cĩ	finish/complete	
343	2tʃʰimpʌ		1cʰĩ	catch, imprison	

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344	tʃʰûkū	tʃʰîkū	3cʰuku	cooking oil	
345	2tʃʰuŋpʌ	2tʃʰoŋpʌ	3cʰoŋ	to jump	
346	tʃʰuŋ 2ŋipʌ	tʌŋpʌ or kʌpʌ	3tʌii 2rʌpʌ	charming	
347	tʃʰúpî			duck	
348	4tʃʰe		2cʰee	book	
349	2tʃʰẽ		2tsaa *or* 3ʈutsee	always	
350	4tʃʰe 2aʃipʌ			illiterate	lit. 'not know book'
351	4tʃʰe 3pripʌ			article	lit. 'write book'
352	4tʃʰe 1mopʌ 4tʰĩ			library	lit. 'house with books'
353	4tʃʰe natsʰʌ			ink	
354	4tʃʰe 2ʃipʌ			educated/literate	
355	tʃʰekaŋ			place to worship	
356	2tʃʰepʌ		4p̥lo	to bite/sting/pinch/attack	also used as 'chase'
357	1tʃʰempʌ	3pjupʌ		to chase	
358	3tʃʰempʌ			to learn	maybe tone /2/?
359	4tʃʰeɾpʌ		1cʰʌrmu	sharp	
360	4tʃʰeɾpʌ	4kʰorpʌ	4kwor 3lʌ	to bend an object	
361	4tʃʰeɾpʌ	4kʰerpʌ		to stick (object) into	
362	tʃʰòtse			wrist watch	also means 'hour'
363	ʈʌ́kʌ			playing cards	
364	ʈʌ́ʈi			toilet	
365	3ʈʌpʌ			to splash/sprinkle liquids	
366	2ʈi			lead	
367	3ʈi		3ʈi	skin	
368	3ʈipʌ			to combine/mix	
369	3ʈipʌ	2tipʌ		to pull/pluck	
370	2ʈu			thread	
371	2ʈu			perspiration	
372	3ʈu			cereal grain	

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373	2ʈu 2ʈupʌ			to perspire	
374	1ʈupʌ			to sit/remain/stay	
375	3ʈe			saag/spinach greens	
376	ʈěŋê			guitar	
377	2ʈopʌ			to read	
378	2ʈopʌ			necessary	
379	ʈʰaʈe			half	
380	4ʈʰu			six	
381	ʈʰù̀ktʃu			sixty	
382	ʈʰù̀ktʃu 4ʂi			sixty one	
383	4ʈʰupʌ			to stich/sew	
384	1tsapʌ			to exaggerate/prolong	
385	tsajʌr			tin	
386	3tsaŋ		2tsaŋ	bed/nest/lair	
387	1tsaŋ			box, container	
388	1tsaŋ 1tsʰaŋpʌ			to wed	lit. 'bride put in (house)'
389	2tsaŋpʌ		3tsaŋpʌ	clean	
390	tsapʌ			to leak	
391	tsapʷi			gnat or midge	
392	tsamʌ			skirt	
393	tsà̀me		3ʔaŋʌ	daughter	
394	tsál̂i		2tsali	net	
395	3tsʌ		3ʔale	son	
396	tsʌkʌ tsiki			shapeless	
397	tsʌ̀tsʌ		3tsʌtsʌ	salt	
398	tsʌ́tsʌ		2tsʌtsʌ	young of animal	
399	tsʌti			nutmeg	
400	1tsʌpʌ		3tsʌ	to eat	

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401	tsʌp tʌŋ tʌŋ			pheasant	
402	tsʌ̀mnʌr	siki	2sʌki	food stuffs	
403	-tsi			perfective marker	
404	2tsu			proximal demonstrative	
405	2tsuri	1tsiri	3tsuri	here, this side	
406	tsu			thick sour porridge	
407	2tsuŋpʌ		1tsuŋ	to sell	
408	tsupʌ			to entertain	
409	1tsupʌ		4tsu	to cook	
410	tse			salt water	
411	tse			antelope	
412	1tse		3tsɛ̃	bridge	
413	=tse		tse	plural clitic	
414	=tse			agentive/ergative clitic	
415	-tse		tse	clause chainer	
416	-tse 1mo	-tsu 1mo *or* –tsʌ 1mo	tse	continuous marker	
417	tso			temple offering	
418	-tso			1st. future/obligation marker	
419	3tsok			straight vertically	
420	2tsoko	2tsuko		proximal demonstrative w/definite clitic	
421	2tsoŋ		4kʰje	business	
422	tsò̀ŋʌ		3tsooŋʌ	fifteen	
423	tsoŋno			chive	
424	3tsoŋpʌ		4ʔur 3te	to meet/have a meeting, gather	
425	2tsoŋ 1lʌpʌ 3mi		3tsoŋpe	merchant/businessman	
426	2tsoɾi			on top of (large object)	mountain, hilltops

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427	tsolpʌ		2nuŋ	to make a mistake	
428	tsolpʌ 1aɾepʌ			faultless, innocent	
429	tsʰáʔɾaŋ		4mʌʃeraŋ *or* 2tsʰaaraŋ	all, every, inclusive	
430	tsʰáʔɾaŋ 4kʰjaɾi		3kʰakori	everywhere	
431	1tsʰaŋ	1tsaŋ		bride	
432	2tsʰaŋpʌ		4tsʰaŋ	to put in, keep, fill	maybe /4/?
433	4tsʰaŋpʌ	4solpʌ		clear	
434	2tsʰapʌ			spicy	
435	tsʰʌ			nerves	
436	4tsʰʌɾpʌ	4tsʰeɾpʌ	4pʰaŋ 4ʔarupʌ	to feel listless, unwell, weak	Hoshi 'weak'
437	2tsʰi			word	
438	tsʰipʌ	kʷake		to entangle	
439	tsʰìmpʌ		3cʰīpʌ	liver	
440	tsʰimɾa			aromatic herb	
441	tsʰupʌ			to divide	
442	2tsʰe		1tsʰee	colour	
443	2tsʰe 2tsʰopʌ			to colour	
444	4tsʰepʌ		3tsʰeepʌ 3kʰʌpʌ	hot weather	
445	2tsʰepʌ 3sʌpʌ			to irritate with annoying sounds	
446	2tsʰepʌ		4maa 3lʌ	to fight	
447	1tsʰo		3tsʰo *or* 4tʰumpʌ	rope/string	
448	1tsʰo			lake/pond	sometimes also 'river'
449	4tsʰo			offering of flour at gompa	
450	4tsʰoɾpʌ	4ɲapʌ *or* 4mjupʌ	4tsʰor	to wrap	
451	2ta		4taa	what	
452	ta pitse		4taa 2pii *or* 4taa 2pitse	why	

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453	ta pitse pinʌ		3haci 2lʌlii	because	
454	2ta 2ruŋpʌ	2te	3tʰa 2ruŋpʌ	far/how far	
455	2taŋ		1taŋ	pot, container	
456	3taŋ			wood	as in 2ʃiŋ 3taŋ 'tree wood'
457	táŋku			fox	
458	taŋ tu			musical instrument	
459	táŋi		3taanji	flea, midge	
460	tàŋkjaŋ	kʰiŋ	3taŋkjaŋ	ice	
461	tàŋkjaŋ 3njupʌ	3njupʌ	4nju	to melt	lit. 'ice melt'
462	tàŋkjaŋ tsʰʌpʌ			frost, to freeze	
463	3taŋpʌ	3tʌŋpʌ	2taŋpʌ 2taŋpʌ	ancient/ancient times	
464	3taŋpʌ		1ʈaŋ	to swell	
465	2tapʌ			to fill with liquids	
466	3tapʌ		2ʈaa	to recover/heal	
467	2tʌ		1tʌ	horse	
468	tʌ	lje	1ʈʌ	root	
469	2tʌ pʰortʌ			stallion	
470	2tʌ sjʌ tʃepʌ			gelding	
471	tʌŋpo la	tʌwʌ tʌŋpo	4towa 2taŋpʌ	January	
472	tʌ̀ntsʌ			lock (general)	
473	tʌ̀ntsʌ tsʌ́tsʌ			key hole, lock	lit. 'lock baby'
474	tʌ̀ntsʌ ànʌ			key	lit. 'lock mother'
475	tʌte			mule	
476	1tʌpʌ		3lʌ	to become	
477	3tʌpʌ			to splash	
478	=tʌɾ			ablative case clitic	
479	tʌ̀ɾkja		3tʌrkja	white	
480	tʌ́ɾŋe		3tʌrŋʌ	fish	

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481	tʌ̀wʌ sumpʌ	sumpʌ la	4towʌ 3sumpʌ	March	
482	tʌ̀wʌ ʃipʌ	ʃipʌ la	4towʌ 4ʃipʌ	April	
483	tʌ̀wʌ ŋʌpʌ	ŋʌpʌ la	4towʌ 1ŋʌpʌ	May	
484	tʌ̀wʌ tukpʌ	tukpʌ la	4towʌ ʈukpʌ	June	
485	tʌ̀wʌ tumpʌ	tumpʌ la	4towʌ tĩpʌ	July	
486	tʌ̀wʌ kjepʌ	kjepʌ la	4towʌ kjeepʌ	August	
487	tʌ̀wʌ kupʌ	kupʌ la	4towʌ 4kupʌ	September	
488	tʌ̀wʌ tʃupʌ	tʃupʌ la	4towʌ 1cupʌ	October	
489	tʌ̀wʌ tʃipʌ	tʃipʌ la	4towʌ 1cukciipʌ	November	
490	tʌ̀wʌ tʃu ŋipʌ	tʃu ŋipʌ la	4towʌ 3cuŋŋipʌ	December	
491	1tĩ	1tiŋ	3tĩ	heart	lit. 'heart small'
492	1tĩ tʃampʌ		2ʔasu *or* 2njĩ	fearful, cowardly	lit. 'heart big'
493	1tĩ tʰjʌpʌ	4lo tʰjʌpʌ		brave	
494	1tĩ 1lʌpʌ		3kʰwor 2tsʰaŋ	to remember	lit. 'heart do'
495	tìŋi		2tʰiŋi	sun	
496	tìŋi		3tiŋi	today, day time	
497	tìŋi muntse			tonight, night time	
498	tìŋi pʰjapʌ			sunrise/sunlight	
499	tìŋi pʰi 1mi		3pʰee	sunset	
500	tìŋtse			noon	
501	2tipʌ	3ʈipʌ	2ʈi	to pull/pluck	
502	tìpli 1kʰʌpʌ		3tipli	lightning	
503	tiri	2nepʌ	4njepʌ	near/distance/beside	
504	1tu		3tu	vagina	
505	4tuk		4tuk	poison	
506	tuk 1tʌpʌ	1kjopʌ	3ʈʰaluŋ 3kʰʌ	sad/mournful/depressed	tuk=Nepali 'pain'
507	tûkʌŋ		4tukʌŋ	shop/store	
508	3tuŋ	pʰjôkō	4tumpuluŋ *or* 2tumupuluŋ	shell	Hoshi 'shellfish'

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509	3tuŋ pŭlûŋ	kakri pŭlûŋ		snail	lit. 'shell insect'
510	3tuŋ 2ʃiŋ			porcupine	
511	1tuŋpʌ	2upʌ *or* 2ʃupʌ	2ʔuu	to cover	
512	3tupʌ		2tuupʌ	poor	
513	tẽ	ʌni/ʌne	3ne	conjunction 'and'	
514	teŋki			water tank/well	
515	1tepʌ	pʰàtepʌ	4pʰʌtee 4jʌ	to fall (objects)	
516	1tepʌ			to fold	
517	2tepʌ		3tẽ	to take out	maybe /1/
518	3tepʌ	4tʰopʌ	3jaa 3lʌ *or* 2te	to touch	
519	1tempʌ			to show/point out	
520	3tempʌ		3cʰĩ 3tʰe *or* 2tẽ	to bind/fasten/tighten	
521	tèle		1hunji	yesterday	
522	tepe			leech	
523	tèɾa kráŋtse		4tera 2kraŋtsʌ	every day	
524	tôkōŋ	tôŋē		bear	
525	tòŋɾa		3toŋraa 4ri̥i	thousand	
526	tòŋɾa 4ŋi			two thousand	
527	3topʌ		2too	to arrive/meet/achieve	
528	2topʌ		2rẽtaa 2praa	to grind herbs	
529	3topʌ		2to	to plant	
530	tôɾe			graveyard/tomb	
531	tosʌri			nowadays	
532	tósoŋ	tósõ *or* tósẽ	2toso	now/just now	
533	=tʰa			general classifier	
534	2tʰa	1tʰaa	1tʰaa	saliva	
535	2tʰa			vertical house beam	
536	tʰa	suŋkuɾ	1suŋkur	pig	
537	tʰàkẽ	1tʰẽ		porter's bag/box	

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538	4tʰaŋ		3tʰaŋ	odour/scent	
539	1tʰaŋ		3tʰaŋ	floor/outside/level/firm/ hard	noun and adj.
540	4tʰaŋ 3asʌpʌ 1kʰʌpʌ		3tʰaŋ 2ʔasʌpʌ 3kʰapʌ	to stink/smell bad	lit. 'bad odour comes'
541	4tʰaŋ 1kʰʌpʌ		3tʰaŋ	to smell something	lit. 'odour comes'
542	4tʰaŋ 3sʌpʌ 1kʰʌpʌ			to smell nice	
543	tʰaŋɾi		3pʰi *or* 3pʰitse	outside	
544	2tʰapʌ		3tuu	to cut/cross	
545	tʰaɾ tʰɾjʌ			frequently	
546	4tʰi	kʌɾtɛ̃	4tʰi	teapot	
547	2tʰi		1tsʰo	lake/glacial lake	
548	4tʰĩ	4tʰiŋ	4tʰĩ	house	
549	2tʰipʌ		1tʰi	to break/join	also 'to fall and break'
550	2tʰipʌ			to burst	
551	tʰipʌ			to wrap wool for weaving	
552	tʰùkpʌ			noodle	'Tibetan noodles'
553	2tʰuŋpʌ		1tʰuŋ	to drink/eat liquid foods	
554	2tʰuŋpʌ		4kʰje 3tʰjepʌ	short/wide and low	Hoshi 'broad/wide'
555	2tʰupʌ			gravely ill/dying	
559	4tʰe		4tʰe	needle	
557	1tʰɛ̃			porter's box	
558	1tʰɛ̃		3tʰɛ̃	empty	
559	4tʰepʌ			to cook momos	
560	4tʰepʌ		3njɛ̃	to hear	
561	1tʰempʌ		3tʰɛ̃	to deposit/keep/put/ distribute	
562	1tʰempʌ		3tɛ̃	to show/point out/correct	

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563	1tʰo		2kape	roof (outside of house)	sometimes 'ceiling'
564	tʰompʌ			to save money	
565	1tʰoŋ 4solpʌ		3tʰaŋ 3sʌlpʌ *or* 1tʰoŋ 3sʌlpʌ	daylight	lit. 'out bright'
566	1tʰoŋpʌ	1ʈʰoŋpʌ		honourable death	lʌmʌ 1tʰoŋ 1mi
567	4tʰjapʌ		1naa	to bear/withstand	Hoshi 'bear a load'
568	1tʰjʌpʌ		3tʰjepʌ	big/important/great/elder	
569	1tʰjʌpʌ ŋ̀ɯmu		3nyumuŋ	rat	lit. 'big mouse'
570	3pa		2paa	leaf	
571	3pʌŋpʌ		2paŋpʌ *or* 1kateepʌ *or* 1tsʰeepʌ	to quarrel	
572	3pʌɾ	3pʌɾi	2kuŋ	middle/between	
573	pā́ɾpʌ̂	nʌɾ	2pʌrpʌ	thing/item	
574	pʌ̂le		2pʌle	leg/foot	
575	pʌ̂le koto			ankle	
576	pʌ̂le pʰu			big toe	
577	pʌ̂le 2ʃiŋ		2ʃiŋ	toenail	lit. 'leg wood'
578	pʌ̂le 2ʃu			sock	lit. 'leg cover'
579	pʌ̂le 3ʈi			toes	
580	pʌ̂le tili			soles of feet	
581	pʌ̂letse 2primpʌ		2lapaa 1priŋ	to kick	lit. 'leg=ERG hit'
582	pʌmʌ			dew	
583	pʌ́ntʌ		2pʌntaa	shoulder	
584	pi̋ŋkja		3pīkja	blue	
585	2pipʌ		4pʰʌtee 1pii *or* 3kjʌtaa 1pii	to set free	
586	3pipʌ	2tepʌ	3ʃee	to say/speak	
587	1pimpʌ		3pī	to give	
588	2pimpʌ			to unfasten	

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589	3pu 1kʰʌpʌ			to bring over	
590	pûkri		2pukrii	snake	
591	puŋku			donkey	
592	1puŋpʌ		3pʰuŋ	to ride	
593	pùtʃi	pùʃi	1puci	knee	
594	pŭʈūl		2puʈul	bangle or bracelet	
595	pûlū		3pulu	hat	
596	pŭlûŋ		2puluŋ	any crawling insect	
597	2pulpʌ			temple offering of money	
598	1pe			wool	
599	2pe			unfermented wine	
600	2peʔ			very, too (much)	intensifier
601	3poɾ 1jʌpʌ		4tsʰã̄ 1pi	to take/send	
602	pòɾo	pôɾo	3poro	pigeon	Nepali loan
603	pòli		3poli	shoe	
604	pòli 3ʈi			leather shoes	lit. 'shoe skin'
605	polo			nettle	
606	3pjupʌ			to chase	
607	2pjaŋpʌ			clever/smart	
608	1pje		2laŋpʌ	story	
609	3pje		2piʔe	wife	
610	3pɾipʌ		2pri *or* 2ʈii	to write	
611	2pɾimpʌ	2pʰopʌ	1pʰo	to hit/strike/shut	
612	pɾepʌ	ʃuɾpʌ	2pree	to lose a game	
613	pɾẽ 1ja			pinky finger	
614	3plapʌ		2plaapʌ	cold (liquids)/slippery	
615	plísuɾ		4pli 2sur	square shape	
616	pʷi			(corn) husk	
617	1pʰaŋpʌ		3pʰaŋ	to open	

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618	pʰàklì		3pakli	head	
619	1pʰʌ		3pʰʌ	husband	
620	1pʰi		3pʰi	chang	
621	2pʰi	2pʰiɾi *or* ka2pʰiɾi	3pʰi	top/up/upper	
622	1pʰipʌ		3pʰipʌ	late/to hurry	pʰîratse 'really late'
623	2pʰipʌ		1pʰii	to peel a vegetable	
624	pʰítʌŋ			fart (n.)	
625	pʰítʌŋ 2primpʌ			to fart	lit. 'fart hit'
626	pʰûltʌŋ	pʰôltoŋ	2kikil *or* 4kwor	round/circle shape	
627	2pʰuŋ		1pʰuŋ	egg	
628	2pʰuŋ 2pʰuŋpʌ			to lay an egg	
629	2pʰe		1pʰee	iron/metal (general)	
630	2pʰe 4mʷi			coin	lit. 'metal money'
631	2pheʔ 1lʌpʌ		2pʰwor	to spread around	Hoshi 'smear'
632	1pʰepʌ			to copulate	maybe /2/?
633	2pʰepʌ			to fasten articles/connect	related to 'copulate'?
634	pʰéɾka	jʌlka	2jʌlka	stick/branch	
635	1pʰopʌ		2kjur	to change/exchange	
636	1pʰopʌ			to gamble	related to 'exchange'?
637	1pʰo			deer	
638	1pʰo		3pʰwo	male animal (general)	
639	4pʰo		1pʰwo	stomach/abdomen	
640	4pʰo 1kɾempʌ		1pʰwo 3krɛ̃	to be hungry	
641	pʰoke 2pɾimpʌ		4pʰʌtee 1prĩ	to tie up/bind	
642	pʰoke pʰaŋpʌ		4pʰʌtee 4p̥lo	to untie	
643	2pʰopʌ		1pʰo	to beat	
644	pʰopʌŋ ŋ̀ima			bat	
645	pʰôli			spider	
646	pʰôlpʌ			frog	also 'to roll over'

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647	pʰôli 3tsaŋ			cobweb	
648	1pʰjapʌ	1pʰja 1pʰjapʌ	3pʰjapʌ *or* 1pʰjaa	to clean/sweep/wipe	
649	2pʰjaŋpʌ		1pʰjaŋ	to fly	
650	2pʰjuŋ	2pʰjuŋ kȍla	1pjuŋ	young man/bachelor	
651	pʰjȍko		3pjoko	bark/skin/outer layer	also 'fish scale'
652	2pʰɾupʌ			to hit	less commonly used
653	2pʰɾʌpʌ		2prapraa *or* 1tiipʌ	fine/thin objects	hair/noodles, etc.
654	4pʰɾe		4p̥ree	eight	
655	pʰɾêtʃu		2preecu	eighty	
656	4pʰɾa			hill	
657	4pʰɾʌ		4p̥ɾʌ	hundred	
658	4pʰɾa		4p̥ɾa *or* 3meetaa	powder/flour	
659	4pʰɾopʌ		4kokor 3lʌ *or* 2kom *or* 2nee	to walk/move body	
700	4pʰli		4p̥li	four	
701	pʰl̂itʃu		2plicu	forty	
702	4pʰlu		4p̥lu	seed	
703	4pʰlopʌ		3p̥lopʌ	rich/wealthy	
704	4pʰlopʌ	4pʰlepʌ		to unfasten	
705	pʷʰe			incense	
706	mâkʌ 1tʌpʌ		2moko	to wound	lit. 'wound become'
707	màɾtsʰʌ			chili/chili powder	
708	mʌ́ŋ 1ja			middle finger	
709	mʌ̂ntʃē		2mʌ̃ci	lips	
710	mʌnsʌ	tʰʌpsʌŋ or sɨ́ki 1tsupʌ 4kʰja		kitchen	
711	mʌ̄ji			buffalo	water buffalo
712	3mʌɾ			butter	

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713	4mʌɾ		4mʌr	gold	
714	1mi			non-1st perfective evidential	
715	2mi		1mi	eye	
716	3mi		2mi	person	
717	2mi 2pʰi			eye lid	
718	2mi 2mitsʰe		3miitsɛ̃	eye lashes/eyebrow	
719	mǐku	mǐkju	3miki	teardrop	lit. 'eye + water'
720	mɪ́ʈʰi			gorilla/yet	lit 'man + wild animal'
721	1mĩ	1miŋ	3mĩ	name	
722	mîpʰɾa	mêpʰɾa	1mjepraa	gun/gunpowder/ash	lit. 'fire + powder'?
723	2mimpʌ		1mĩ	ripe/to ripen	
724	mînto		2mĩtoo	flower	
725	1mu			stative/imperfective evidential	
726	mùkpʌ		3mukpʌ	brown/mud/cloud	
727	mùkju		3mjuku	smoke	lit. 'eye + water'?
728	móna	múna	2munnaa	dark	maybe 'night' derived?
729	mûntse		2muntse	night	
730	3mulpʌ		4njee	to chew/suck (candies, cheese, etc.)	
731	mèke		4mjekje	bull	
732	1mɛ̃		3me	tail/fin	
733	4mɛ̃	4mɛ̃ kʰùju	3me	grandmother	
734	mélaŋ		2meelaŋ	mirror	
735	1mo	1mopʌ	3mwo	copula/imperfective particle	also 'to be'
736	3mo		2mwo	female animal	

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737	3mo		2mwo *or* 2naŋkuŋ *or* 3mwo	sky/rain	
738	3mo 3ajupʌ			drought	lit 'rain does not come down'
739	3mo 3jupʌ		3mwo 1ju	to rain	lit 'rain comes down'
740	3mo puʈul 3njopʌ		3mwo 2prilo	to thunder	lit. 'sky dragon comes'
741	3mo puʈul	moprul		dragon	
742	mòŋʈe		3monʈe	moustache	
743	móme		2mome	family	
744	4mjupʌ		4mju	to twist/plait (hair)	
745	1mje		3miʔe	fire	
746	1mje		3mɛ̃	medicine	
747	4mje		3mjamʌ	cow	
748	1mje popʌɾ			to spark	
749	1mje pʰupʌ		3miʔe 1tee	to kindle	
750	3mjopʌ			crazy/insane	
751	1mɾaŋ		2njo	to see	
752	1mɾiŋ	1mɾiŋ kòla	3mrĩ *or* 3mriŋ	woman/unmarried woman	
753	2mɾe	mʌ́ɾe	1mre	door	
754	2mɾepʌ		4mrepʌ	fat	
755	2mɾempʌ		1luŋ	to burn	
756	2mle		2mle	penis	
757	mlèŋkja		3mlākja	black	
758	2mlepʌ	ʃômlepʌ	1ʃomlee 4jʌ	to forget	
759	2mʷi		1muʔi	fur/feather	
760	4mʷi		4muʔi *or* 3ʃeka	silver/money	
761	4mʷîʃʌ		4muʔiʃʌ	silver	lit. 'silver +meat'?
762	2mʷe		3tʰaa 2ruŋpʌ	far	

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763	2mʷe 3jul	3pʷal		Nepal country	'other than Manange'
764	3na		2naa	pus	
765	náka	náka 3mo	1nʌkʌ	hen	
766	3naŋ		1nee 3mwopʌ	inside/full	
767	3naŋɾi		2naŋ	down/below/under/inside	
768	naŋse toŋpʌ		3naŋsɛ̃ 3toŋ	to think	
769	2napʌ		1na *or* 2pwor	to carry	
770	nàpɾaŋ		3naapraŋ	flying insect	
771	náɾaŋ		3nʌraŋ	before	
772	nânaŋ		2nʌntaŋ	morning	
773	nâni		3nanji	young child/affectionate term to females	Nepali loan
774	nâhũŋ		2naa 1huŋ	forest	lit. 'forest + grove'?
775	1nʌ		3nʌ *or* 3nʌkuŋ	nose	
776	nʌ̂kju	njùkju or nùkju	3njukju *or* 3nʌkju	dog	lit. 'nose + water'?
777	2nʌpʌ		1nʌpʌ	sick	
778	3nʌpʌ			to be born/give birth	
779	3nu		3ʃjer	east	
780	1nuŋpʌ		3pʌpʌ *or* 2ʔasaŋpʌ	thin	
781	3nuŋpʌ			broken	
782	4nupʌ		4nuu 2rʌ	to sleep	
783	nʌ́ki	néki		rice sifter	
784	2ne			distance	limited use
785	1nepʌ			melodious	
786	1nepʌ			to knead dough	maybe /2/?
787	nêse		3neese	tomorrow	
788	4no			thin garlic	
789	2no 2ʃipʌ	2ŋo 2ʃipʌ	1ʃii	to know	
790	nòkʌɾ		3nokor	cat	

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791	nókrɛ̃		1nokre	bone	
792	nòkro		3nokro	ant	
793	nóŋe	nóŋke	3noŋke	trousers	
794	2nopʌ		3tʰjʌpʌ *or* 1nopʌ	high/tall	
795	4ɲapʌ		4tsʰor	to wrap meat	
796	2ɲaŋpʌ			lightweight	
797	ɲùku			pen	
798	3ɲupʌ		4nyu	to melt	
799	1ɲepʌ		1nee	to decay/fall apart	
800	1ja		3jaa *or* 3jaakaŋ	arm/hand	
801	3ja			yak	
802	1ja lkjetse		3kjeetse	right hand	
803	1ja 3ʈi		3ʈi	finger	
804	1ja tortse		2tortse	left hand	
805	1ja pʰu			thumb	
806	1ja 2ʃiŋ		2ʃiŋ	finger nails	lit 'hand wood'
807	1ja watu			to clap hands	
808	1jaŋpʌ	1tepʌ	3jaŋ	to get/receive	
809	3jaŋ			deontic 'must'	
810	1jʌpʌ		4jʌ	to go	
811	2ji			snow leopard	
812	=juŋ			comitative case clitic	
813	3juŋ	jûŋpʌ	1juŋpʌ	rock	
814	1jupʌ			to pour	
815	3jupʌ		1ju	to descend	
816	3jul		2sur *or* 2jul	village/city	sometimes 'country'
817	jôŋli			armpit	
818	1je			mountain pass/balcony	
819	2jepʌ		4ye	to return	

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820	jérke	ɲérke		gums	
821	ɾàŋi		3raanjii	day after tomorrow	lit 'day + two'
822	=ɾi	=ɾo		general locative clitic	
823	=ɾi			indefinite clitic	
824	2ɾuŋpʌ	1nuŋpʌ or kaʈʰe		thin/skinny	
825	3ɾo	4zo		corpse	
826	ɾok tipʌ		3sɛ̃ 2ʔakrii	to forbid/oppose	
827	ɾop tipʌ	3topʌ	2to	to plant	
828	làke	làkɛ̃	4lakjɛ̃	again	
829	laŋtɛ̃			millet	
830	laŋpʰɾe	tʃekjuŋ		large eagle	
831	3laŋɾi	2ŋipʌ	1nyii	question	Hoshi 'to question'
832	3laŋ 1ʃepʌ		2laŋpʌ 3ʃee	to talk/converse	
833	laŋʃe			elephant	
834	2lapʌ		1laa 4jʌ	to flee/hide	
835	=lʌ			genitive case clitic	
836	1lʌpʌ		3lʌ	to do/use	
837	4lʌw			musk deer	
838	2li		1li	face	
839	2li			stairs	
840	líŋi		1lʌnji	moon	
841	líŋi aɾepʌ			new moon	lit. 'no moon'
842	líŋi opjkel kʰʌpʌ			solar eclipse	
843	líŋi pʰjapʌ			moonlight	lit. 'moonrise'
844	líŋi pʰɾetsʌ pʰjapʌ			waxing crescent	lit. 'moon little bit rises'
845	líŋi tʰate pʰjapʌ			waxing/waning half moon	lit. 'half moon rises'
846	líŋi tso pʰjapʌ			full moon	
847	litsʌɾi		3lii *or* 3liitse	behind	

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848	3lipʌ			heavy weight	
849	2luŋpʌ			to glow	
850	1le	1lepʌ		warm	
851	1le 1lʌpʌ		4lee 3lʌpʌ	easy	
852	1le 1lʌpʌ			to warm something/make warm	
853	2lɛ̃		3liʔe	tongue	
854	2lempʌ		2lɛ̃	to lick	
855	3lo			year	
856	4lo	4hlo	2lo *or* 2nuu	wind/west	
857	1lopʌ		3loo	to teach	
858	ʃa	ɾa	-ra	day	
859	ʃakɾɛ̃		3ʃakri	brain	
860	2ʃaŋ			round garlic	
861	1ʃapʌ		3kʰotolo 3tʌ	to break/broken	
862	1ʃaɾ		3ʃjer	east	some confusion for east/west
863	1ʃʌ		3ʃjʌ	flesh/meat	
864	4ʃʌ	4ʃʌ tsupʌ		rainbow	
865	ʃʌ̀pʌ		3ʃipjʌ	wing	
866	1ʃi			uncooked rice	
867	4ʃi	4ʂi	4kr̥ii *or* 4r̥ii	one	
868	1ʃipʌ		3ʃi	to die/dead	
869	2ʃiŋ			wood	
870	2ʃiŋ ŋ̀ima			woodpecker	
871	2ʃiŋ ŋ̀imu			squirrel	
872	2ʃiŋ pŭlûŋ			termite	
873	2ʃiŋ 3tuŋ		1ʃī	tree	
874	ʃíŋto		2ʃitoo	fruit	

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875	ʃîtʌŋ 1lʌpʌ		2ʃetaŋ 3lʌ	to scold/chastise	
876	ʃ́ilki			bald	
877	ʃùkrî		3ʃukri	cigarette	
878	2ʃupʌ	2ʂupʌ	1ʂ̥ru	to wash	
879	ʃur tʰepʌ			to lie/false	
880	2ʃe		1ʃje	louse	
881	ʃèke	4ʃi kɛɾe		single/solitary	
882	2ʃeŋ	pʌ̀i 2ʃeŋ		sugar cane	
883	1ʃepʌ	1ʂepʌ	3ʂ̥ree	to arise/get up	
884	ʃèli			wolf	
885	ʃoŋto			hot ember/burning coal	
886	2ʃopʌ		1ʃo	to dance	
887	ʃôʃo		3ʃoʃo	paper	
888	ʂa			chicken hawk	
889	2ʂaŋpʌ		1ʂ̥raŋ	to roast	
890	1ʂʌ			goat	
891	4ʂī 1ja			ring finger	
892	1ʂipʌ			to beg	
893	2ʂipʌ		1rii	to vomit	
894	2ʂipʌ		3kjeepʌ	to itch/itchy/irritating	
895	4ʂu	4ʐ̩u	3ru	horn	
896	2ʂuŋpʌ			brief/short/fluffy/thick	
897	ʂupʌl			turtle	
898	ʂûpuŋ	ʂîpuŋ	2rupuŋ *or* 2ripuŋ	rabbit	
899	1ʂo		3ro	wall	
900	3ʂo		2roopʌ *or* 2roomʌ	friend	
901	4ʂo		4ʂ̥o	wheat	
902	3ʂo 1lʌpʌ		2roo 3lʌ	to help	lit. 'friend do'

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903	3saŋ	3saŋ 1kʰʌpʌ		desire	
904	3saŋ 2kipʌ		3sɛ̃ 3kii	luxuriouis/comfortable	
905	2saŋpʌ			to hang	
906	1sʌ			tooth	
907	1sʌ		3sʌ	ground/land	
908	sʌ ŋ̂imʌ			Sunday (7th day)	
909	sʌ tʌwʌ			Monday	
910	sʌ pʌlsʌŋ			Friday	
911	sʌ pimpʌ			Saturday	
912	sʌ pʰuɾpʌ			Thursday	
913	sʌ mimʌɾ			Tuesday	
914	sʌ hlakpʌ			Wednesday	
915	2sʌŋpʌ			to spread	
916	sʌ̀tʃi		3sʌtseɛ̃	border	
917	sʌ̀tuɾ		3r̥ʌ	enemy	
918	3sʌpʌ		2sʌpʌ	tasty/good/nutritious	
919	3sʌpʌ		2sʌ	to make/establish/ distribute	
920	sʌptɛ̃			rug	
921	2sʌɾ		1sʌr	star	
922	3sʌni 1ʌpʌ			to love/do nicely by	
923	sí̜ki		2sʌki	food stuffs	
924	sí̜tʌɾi			free/no charge	
925	4siɾpʌ			to comb hair	
926	2su		4su	who	
927	su 1kʰʌpʌ		2ʔatjepʌ	to hurt/sore/painful	
928	1suŋ		3suŋ	mouth	
929	3sup	3supʌ	2suupʌ	body	
930	sú̜mtʃu			thirty	

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931	seŋi			mercury	
932	2sɛ̃		1sɛ̃	three	
933	2sez 1lʌpʌ	4lo 1tʰjʌpʌ *or* ŋoŋto		healthy/hearty	
934	1sepʌ		3see	to kill	
935	2sopʌ			to turn over/reverse	
936	4solpʌ			clear	
937	hái lʌ̀le			at last	
938	hái lʌ̀pʌ		1kʰjɛ̃pʌ	to yawn/boredom	
939	hatʃuŋ			how manner	
940	hajuŋ		3hajaŋ	when/never	
941	háni		4hãti *or* 4hatʃi *or* 4hãtse	where	
942	hátsu		3tʃʰoo	how direction	
943	háloko			which	
944	húŋi		1hunji 3nʌraŋ	day before yesterday/other day	
945	4hlo 1kʰʌpʌ	4lo 1kʰʌpʌ	3l̥o	to cough	

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A grammar and glossary of the Sherpa language

Barbara Kelly

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Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ABL	ablative
ASSOC	associative
CC	clause chain marker
CLASS	classifier
COMIT	comitative
CONJ	conjunct marker
COP	copula
DAT	dative
DEF	definite marker
DISJ	disjunct marker
EMPH	emphatic particle
ERG	ergative
EVID	evidential
GEN	genitive
IMP	imperfective
IP	imperative
INDEF	indefinite marker
LOC	locative
NOM	nominalizer
NEG	negative
PL	plural
PROG	progressive

1 *An introduction to Sherpa*

1.1 Background on Sherpa

The Sherpa language is spoken in the Solu-Khumbu region in the eastern half of the Kingdom of Nepal.[1] It has been classified taxonomically in the southern Bodish unit of the Bodic division of the Sino-Tibetan language family (Grimes 1992). Shafer (1967), and Voeglin and Voeglin (1965) classify Sherpa under the Central Tibetan language group of the Sino-Tibetan phylum. Benedict (1972) used a different method of classification, however he too classifies Sherpa in the Central Tibetan language subgroup.

1.2 Sherpa demographics

The 1991 Nepalese census highlights three regions of Eastern Nepal as having the most concentration of Sherpas. These are Solu, Pharak and Khumbu. Isolated settlements are also to be found over a much wider area, such as Helambu to the north of Kathmandu and Rolwaling to the West of Khumbu. *Solu* refers to the southern low altitude region of Sherpa settlements, *Pharak* is politically considered a sub-region of Solu and spans the valley area on either side of the Dudh Koshi, while *Khumbu* refers to the high altitude region of Sherpa settlements. When anthropologists such as Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf (1984) and James Fisher (1990) talk and write about Sherpas, they are for the most part referring to what is commonly considered to be a cohesive single cultural group of people, who although not entirely homogeneous, form a single society in that they have the same clan structure and they intermarry.

In a sociodemographic summary of the 1991 census, Gurung (1996) furnishes the number of speakers of Bhote Sherpa at around 4500. There are several reasons to believe this number is unrealistically high. Gordon (1969) notes that the term *bhote* or *bhotia* is a general cover term for mountain people, and it is therefore difficult to know how many of

[1] Several people have assisted and supported me throughout the writing of this grammar. My primary thanks go to my Sherpa consultants in Nepal, Yangji Sherpa, Mingma Sherpa, and Jamyang Sherpa, and Pasang Sherpa in the U.S., who worked patiently with me as I mispronounced words, inspected their tongue positions, and constantly asked for repetitions. I'm also very thankful to Carol Genetti, who provided me with the opportunity to work on Sherpa, and who patiently guided me throughout the writing of this grammar. While in Nepal several researchers assisted me in my data analysis, and I am grateful to them for their insights into my data their encouragement. Special thanks to Kristine Hildebrandt, Holly Smith, Mary Brehm, Karen Grunow-Haarsta, Steve Watters, George van Driem, Balthasar Bickel, and Austin Hale, and the faculty at both Tribhuvan University and The Royal Nepal Academy. Thanks also to friends and colleagues at home who encouraged me along the way, especially Sandy Thompson, Paul Barthmaier, and of course Lawrence Cavedon, who keeps me smiling. Finally, I'd like to thank the many members of the Sherpa community both in Nepal and the U.S, who helped me to discover the beauty of their language. Funding for this research was supported by a National Science Foundation Grant BNS 9729005.

these are actually Sherpas by language or by cultural group. This catch-all term encompasses twenty ethnic groups speaking twenty languages. The number of Sherpa speakers who speak the dialect of Sherpa spoken in the Solu-Khumbu district, the Rolwaling district to the east of Khumbu and neighbouring regions such as the Langtang district is reported by Klatztel and Zanbu (1988) as being around 5,000; with a total of around 35,000 Sherpas currently living in Nepal. Again, this figure is likely to be rather high, because each of the estimates of the number of speakers are based on census figures, which are based on self reports. Due to the relatively stable income yielded by the robust trekking industry in the Solu-Khumbu district, Sherpas as a cultural group are comparatively wealthy in Nepal, and are thus afforded some prestige. As such, there is a likelihood that semi-speakers of Sherpa would count themselves as speakers of the language, which may inflate the overall number of people claiming Sherpa as a mother tongue. My own experience in the region confirms this suspicion. For example, while teaching a class at Chaurikhaka high school near Lukla, I asked students who spoke Sherpa to raise their hands. On the basis of some simple word tests, I found that several of the students who claimed to speak Sherpa did not, and in fact were from other cultural groups, such as Tamang and Rai. In addition, several Sherpa speakers told me that they count their children as speakers of the language, even though the children primarily speak Nepali and are passive bilinguals in Sherpa. Some Sherpa-speaking parents often hope that their children will learn Sherpa when they are older. More typically, parents consider their children as being *culturally* Sherpa, and by reporting them as speakers, it makes the language (and thus the cultural group) appear numerically strong.

Sherpa is also spoken north of Kathmandu in the Helambu district of central Nepal. There are marked dialect differences between Bhote Sherpa and Helambu Sherpa, and several researchers have reported that the two dialects are not mutually intelligible (Fisher 1990, von Führer-Haimendorf 1988). There is also a small Sherpa speaking population in Kathmandu, particularly in the Bodanath area, and in the Assam, Darjeeling and Sikkim districts of Northeastern India.

1.3 Previous research

Several researchers have undertaken work on different dialects of Sherpa over the past three decades. The principal research to date has been conducted Berkhard and Heiderose Schöttelndreyer, working under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) in the early 1970s. This work was preceded by a paper by Austin Hale (1968) on pitch contrast, and by a detailed phonetic description by Kent Gordon (1969). Gordon's data forms part of the dataset from which the Schöttelndreyers and Hale worked. Both Gordon and the Schöttelndreyers worked in Phaplu, a village in the Solu district. In addition to this work by linguists with SIL, several unpublished manuscripts were written by a 1975 Field Methods class at University of California, Berkeley, taught by James Matisoff. Two published papers also arose from this class, which was based on the Sherpa of a speaker from north of Pangboche in the northern Khumbu region. The published papers are Givón (1982) and Woodbury (1986). Also published is a Sherpa/Nepali/English language guide by Ang Phinjo Sherpa (1989). This small guide is a useful general resource for trekkers in the Solu-Khumbu region, however it is unfortunately no longer in print. At the time I began research on Sherpa, Sang Yong Li, a researcher working in Kathmandu, had commenced collection of lexical items from a Solu Sherpa speaker, with a view to writing

a Sherpa/Korean dictionary. Steven Watters, from Tribhuvan University in Kathmandu, has examined this data as part of an ongoing project examining tone in Tibetan dialects. Also, Carolyn Rickard, from University of Colorado, Boulder has begun some preliminary work examining theory of mind in Sherpa speakers of various ages.

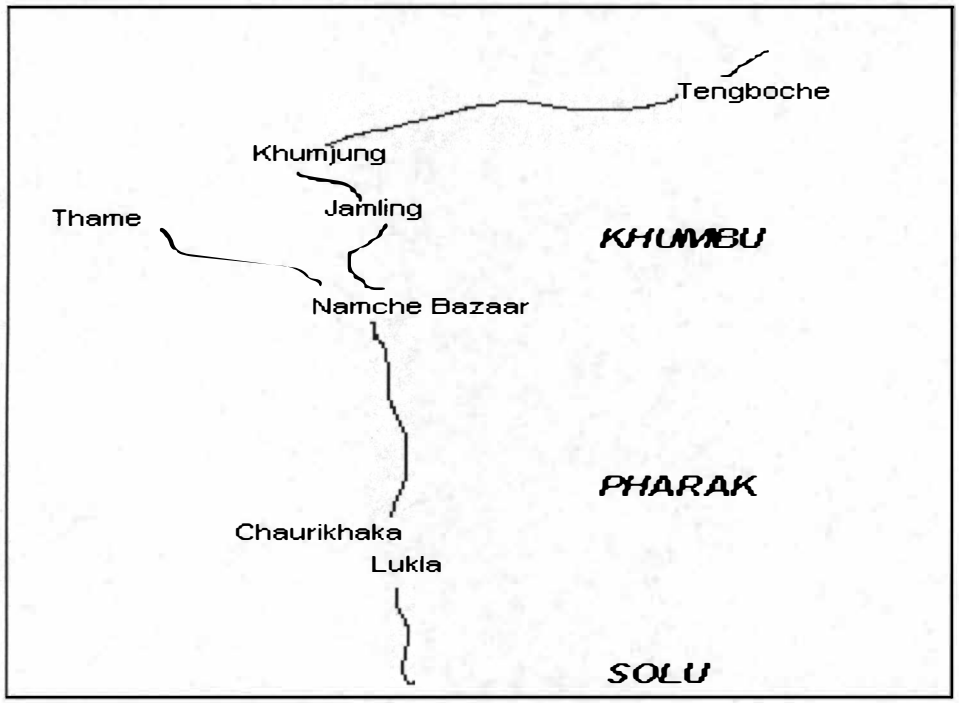
1.4 Data

The Sherpa data reported were collected during two field trips to Nepal in 1998 and 1999. It comes chiefly from my primary consultant, Yangji Sherpa, who is from Lukla. Yangji is a young woman who was born in 1977 and raised in Lukla until she finished her schooling (to SLC level) at the age of 16 years. At this time she moved with her family to Kathmandu where her father owns and manages a trekking business. Each year during the trekking season Yangji returns to Lukla to help run the family lodge and restaurant. During this time she primarily speaks Sherpa. She also speaks Sherpa at home although she regularly speaks Nepali with her six-year-old sister, who has only passive knowledge of Sherpa with minimal production. Yangji's native language is Sherpa, and Nepali was introduced when she first attended school at the age of 6 years. She also has varying degrees of fluency in English and Japanese. Yangji's mother, Lhakpa Sherpa, speaks Sherpa, Nepali and some Tibetan, and was raised in Namche Bazaar in the Khumbu district until her marriage, when she moved to Lukla. Her father, Nawang Yonden Sherpa speaks Sherpa, Tibetan, Nepali and has varying degrees of fluency in English, Japanese, Chinese, and Italian. He was raised in the Rolwaling district and had a monastic education where he learned to read and write Tibetan.

A substantial amount of the data provided by Yangji has been checked and in most cases corroborated by my secondary consultants, Mingma Sherpa and Jamyang Sherpa, who also provided some data used for analysis in this grammar. Both Mingma and Jamyang are from nearby villages in the Khumbu region; Mingma is from Namche Bazaar and Jamyang from Jamling. The walking time between Lukla and Namche Bazaar is one day (for a Sherpa, generally more for a non-Sherpa), and the time between Namche Bazaar and Jamling is approximately one hour.

Together with the elicitation data provided by my three consultants, I have also collected narrative and procedural texts and word lists from ten different speakers in the region between Junbesi and Tengboche. The majority of narratives were collected in a setting where the narrator told Yangji a story either in my presence or alone. One narrative, *Yeti* (given in Appendix A of this study), was told during a story-telling session in the home of the narrator in Namche Bazaar. The narrative was told to family members who knew the narrative well, and to myself, and his four year old daughter, for whom it was new.

During both field trips my primary place of residence was in Kathmandu, however, I also spent time in the Khumbu region collecting data from speakers other than my three consultants. I attempted to collect data from different speakers residing in different areas of the region in order to examine possible dialect differences and correlations between these and geographical location. In doing this I walked from Lukla (the largest village in Pharak, a small geographical region between Solu and Khumbu), to Tengboche in the north (Khumbu) and Thame toward the west (Khumbu). Solu data cited throughout the study comes from Solu speakers interviewed in Lukla and surroundings. Map 1.1 below indicates the villages and political areas data was collected from.



Map 1.1: Data Collection Areas in Solu, Pharak, Khumbu

Throughout the grammar I will occasionally provide examples based on the data from my secondary consultants and other sources, including word-list data collected from 10 speakers aged 13 to 65 years, and narrative data from 7 speakers aged 18 to 53 years. The bulk of the analysis throughout the grammar will, however, be based on the texts and data provided by Yangji Sherpa.

1.5 Grammar layout

The layout of the grammar is as follows: Chapter 1 is an introductory overview of the Sherpa language, and the data used throughout this grammar. Chapter 2 outlines the phonetics and phonology of Sherpa. In Chapter 3, I focus on the morphology of the noun phrase, and in Chapter 4, I outline the morphology of the verb phrase, with a specific examination of evidentiality. Chapter 5 is an examination of the clause and grammatical relations. In Appendix A, I present a fully glossed and translated text. In Appendix B, I present a glossary of the language.

2 *Phonology*

2.1 Introduction

Sherpa has a set of 39 consonant phones and 13 oral vowel phones. In §2.1 I discuss the consonant phone inventory and present arguments for Sherpa consonant phonemes. A phoneme inventory is then presented in §2.2. The vowel phone inventory is discussed in §2.3 and a phoneme inventory is presented in §2.4. Section 2.5 is a discussion of the status of nasalisation in Sherpa with relation to work by Schöttelndreyer and Schöttelndreyer (1973). Section 2.7 is a tonal analysis of Sherpa and includes an examination of tonal shift across nouns and verbs in §2.7.1. The phonotactics of Sherpa, including syllable structure, consonant clusters and diphthongs are presented and discussed in §2.8, and stress is discussed in §2.9. Finally, in §2.10 I present a brief overview of some of the phonological differences across dialects of Sherpa, based on my own observations and those attested in earlier research.

2.2 Consonant Phones

Consonant phones in Sherpa may be divided into the classes obstruent and sonorant. The obstruent class includes stops, affricates and fricatives. The sonorant class includes approximants and nasals. The inventory of Sherpa consonants is given in Table 2.1[1]

Table 2.1: Sherpa consonant phone inventory

	labial	dental-alveolar	retroflex	palato-alveolar	palatal	velar	uvular	glottal
Stops	p	t	ʈ		ky	k	q	ʔ
	ph	th	ʈh		khy	kh		
	b	d	ɖ		gy	g		
Fricatives	f	s		š				h
		z	ʐ					
Affricates		ts		c				
		tsh		ch				
		dz		j				
Nasals	m	n			ɲ	ŋ		
Liquids		lh rh						
		l r						
Glides	w				y			

[1] Transcription symbols used throughout this grammar include a mix of IPA and American Usage. The systems are mixed so that interested readers with no linguistic training will still have access to this grammar.

2.2.1 Obstruents

2.2.1.1 Stops

The set of Sherpa stops include voiced, voiceless aspirated and voiceless unaspirated members. Sherpa has seven places of articulation for stops. There are no phonemic breathy consonants, except in words that have been borrowed from Nepali. Voiced stops are pre- nasalised in word-initial position. All stop phonemes may occur as word and syllable onsets, however only the voiceless bilabial and the voiceless velar may occur in coda position. In coda position these stops may be either released, unreleased, or realised as a glottal stop in free variation. For example, 'tiger' may be realised as [ták] or [táʔ], and 'black' may be realised as [nàkpo] or [nàʔpo].

A minimal set establishing the phonemic status of the three series of bilabial stops is given below:

(2.1) /p/ vs. / ph / vs. /b/

pú	'fur/skin hair'
phú	'blow out'(IMP)
bù	'insect'

The aspirated bilabial stop [ph] is in free variation with the voiceless labiodental fricative. For example:

(2.2) [ph] vs. [f]

[fákpa]~[phákpa]	'pig'
[fíkok]~[phíkok]	'outer covering'

/ph/ is considered the underlying phoneme on the basis of pattern congruity. Each of the other voiceless stops have an aspirated counterpart.

Minimal pairs establishing the phonemic status of dental/alveolar[2] and retroflex stops are given below:

(2.3) /t/ vs. / th /

táu	'to tie'
háu	'buckwheat'

(2.4) /t/ vs. /ʈ/

tòŋba	'empty'
ʈòŋba	'alcoholic drink'

(2.5) /t/ vs. /d /

dì	'this'
ti	discourse particle

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[2] There is variation across speakers in the placement of the tongue in the dental/alveolar series; some speakers pronounce it as a true dental, whereas others have their tongue further back in the alveolar region.

(2.6) / th/ vs. /ʈh/

ʈhímbu	'fast'
thómbu	'hot' (climate)

Only a near minimal pair was found in the database for /th/ versus /ʈh/. The vowel quality difference found in this pair of words is unlikely to trigger allophonic distribution of these sounds. In addition, the dental/retroflex distinction is found in the other three series of stops and both [th] and [ʈh] contrast with other phonemes.

(2.7) /ʈ/ vs. /ʈh/

ʈù	'to lead'
ʈhìu	'to write'

(2.8) /d/ vs. /ɖ/

dóŋbu	'tree'
ɖòŋbu	'market sellers'

Minimal pairs and near minimal pairs establishing the phonemic status of velar stops are given below:

(2.9) /k/ vs. /kh/

kàŋba	'leg'
khàŋba	'house'
kó	'leather'
kho	'she/he'

(2.10) /k/ vs. /g/

ká	'pillar'
gá	'happiness'

[k] and [q] are in free variation in coda position, as illustrated in (2.11) below. /k/ is considered the underlying phoneme as it has a wider distribution, occurring as an onset as well as a coda.

(2.11) /k / vs. [q]

[cík]~[cíq]	'one'
[rotúk]~[rotúq]	'shoulder'

The status of the glottal stop is not entirely clear. As bilabial and velar stops occur in coda position but alveolar stops do not, it is conceivable that the coda [ʔ] is a historical reflex of *t. This is possible in light of the fact that a gap occurs in the data where we have

/p/ and /k/, but not /t/ codas.[3] However, I have not been able to establish a synchronic connection between /t/ and [ʔ]. On the contrary, I have clear examples of alternations between /k/ and [ʔ], in coda position, as given in (2.12) below. There is also a three way distribution with regard to [ʔ], [q], and /k/ in coda position. Considering that all glottal stops alternate with velars, it appears that synchronically [ʔ] is in free variation with [k] and [q], and /k/ is considered the underlying phoneme on the basis of distribution.

(2.12) [ʔ] vs. /k/

[nok] ~ [noʔ]	EVID.
[tsìkpa] ~ [tsìʔpa]	'outer wall'

With more data I may find evidence for analysing [ʔ] as an allophone of coronal stops. However, on the basis of the data collected to date, it appears that [ʔ] is in free variation with /k/ and occurs syllable finally, but never initially. It is possible that some of the glottal stop codas we find in Sherpa derived from coronals, but given the current system, there is no reason for speakers to equate [ʔ] with /t/.

Sherpa has a palatal series of velar stops including: /ky/, /khy/, /gy/. These occur syllable initially. I have not been able to establish minimal pairs for all of the palatals, however I propose a palatal series on the basis of minimal pairs when occurring before /u/, and on the basis of oppositions in interactions with /a/ and /o/. When preceded by a palatalized velar, /a/ becomes a low front vowel /æ/ and /o/ becomes an open-mid front rounded vowel /œ/. This is discussed further in §2.4.2. In (2.13) below I present distinctions for these sounds:

(2.13)

[kyú]	*kyú*	'porridge'
[kú]	*kú*	'paint'
[gyæ̀p]	*gyàp*	'back'
[gàŋbu]	*gàŋbu*	'everything'

2.2.1.2 Fricatives

Fricatives occur in the following places of articulation: labiodental, dental-alveolar, retroflex, palatoalveolar, glottal. All Sherpa fricatives occur in syllable-initial position and a voiceless fricative has also been found in syllable-final position in one word: *iskus* 'okra'. Palatoalveolar fricatives have a slight palatal off-glide.

Minimal pairs establishing the phonemic status of coronal fricatives are given below:

(2.14) /s/ vs. /š/

sètu	'kill'
šétu	'ask'

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[3] H. Schöttelndreyer (1971) reports /t/ finals in several verbs, for example *pet* 'to open', *det* 'to climb'. However, I was not able to establish these endings. Each of my consultants found the /t/ final unacceptable.

(2.15) /s/ vs. /z/

sú	'who'
zù	'body'
sàma	'food'
zàma	'pot'

The retroflex fricative [ʐ] is an allophone of /r/ and its distribution is discussed in §2.2.2.2. The voiceless labiodental fricative [f] is an allophone of /ph/ and its distribution is discussed in §2.2.1.1.

/h/ occurs only word-initially and preceding a vowel. Vowels following /h/ are always low tone, however they may be clear or breathy. This is discussed further in §2.7. However, it is clear that the /h/ is not predictable as occurring with vowel-initial low tone words in light of the low tone vowel initial examples in (2.16b) which lack the /h/, as illustrated below:

(2.16) a.

hạ̀mce	'female goat'
hạ̀bagaga	'great grandfather'

b.

àni	'nun'
èrmaŋ	'pepper'
òktum	'fist'

2.2.1.3 Affricates

Sherpa affricates occur in two places of articulation. They are alveolar and palato-alveolar. Affricates occur only syllable initially and include a voiced/voiceless distinction and a voiceless aspirated/unaspirated distinction. All affricates have a palatal offglide.

Minimal pairs establishing the phonemic status of coronal affricates are given below:

(2.17) /ts/ vs. /tsh/

tsíkpa	'outer wall'
tshíkpa	'burn

(2.18) /ts/ vs. /c/

tsémbu	'seam'
cèmbu	'glossy'

(2.19) /ts/ vs. /ch/

tsám	'meditation'
chàm	'type of dance'

(2.20) /ts/ vs. [dz]

tsá	'grass'
dzá	'rainbow'

(2.21) /tsh/ vs. / ch/

tshà	'tea'
chà	'bird'

Minimal pairs establishing the phonemic status of palatal affricates are given below:

(2.22) /c/ vs. /ch/

cík	'one'
chík	'potato masher'

(2.23) / c/ vs. / j/

cù	'ten'
jù	'sit down' (R)[4]

(2.24) /j/ vs. /z/

jù	'sit down' (R)
zù	'body'

(2.25) [dz] vs. /z/

[dzòm]~[zòm]	'cow'
[dzòp]~[zòp]	'make/build'

These two sounds are in free variation, for example 'eyelash' can be [mízama] or [mídzama]. There is free variation also word initially, where 'handsome' may be [zému] or [dzému]. /z/ is considered the underlying phoneme on the basis of pattern congruity.

2.2.2 Sonorants

The class of sonorant consonants in Sherpa includes nasals and approximants.

2.2.2.1 Nasals

Sherpa has four places of articulation for nasals. These are bilabial, alveolar, palatal and velar nasals. Each of the nasals occurs syllable initially, and all occur finally except the palatal nasal.

Minimal pairs establishing the phonemic status of the bilabial and the alveolar and velar nasal are given below:

(2.26) /m/ vs. /n/ vs. /ŋ/

mè	'fire'
nè	'holy place'
ŋè	'1SG.GEN/ERG'

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[4] The symbol (R) is used to indicate respectful forms.

Minimal pairs establishing the phonemic status of the palatal and velar nasals are given below:

(2.27) /ŋ/ vs. /ɲ/

ŋà	'1sg'
ɲà	'fish'

2.2.2.2 Approximants

Sherpa has three places of articulation for approximants: bilabial, dental-alveolar and palatal. The lateral and rhotic approximant may be voiced or voiceless. Voiced laterals and rhotics occur in syllable- and word- initial position and in word-final position. However their voiceless counterparts occur only word initially and do not occur word or syllable finally. Approximants also include a labiovelar glide and a palatal glide. The labiovelar glide occurs occasionally in syllable-final position, for example, *kow* 'to prick', *low* 'base'. The palatal glide occurs syllable initially but does not occur syllable finally.

Minimal pairs establishing the phonemic status of the laterals and rhotics are given below:

(2.28) /l/ vs. /r/ vs. /lh/ vs. /rh/

lá	'deer'
lhá	'god'
rá	'cotton'
rhá	'hair'

/r/ in Sherpa is a tap which is occasionally trilled, although not systematically. Some single syllable words such as *rà* - 'goat' occasionally have a slight frication sounding a bit like [z] in isolated speech, almost like a voiced retroflex fricative [ʐ]. This phenomenon is extremely rare. It only occurred in the language use of my primary consultant and she was not able to produce the sound consciously. On playing her a recording of the [ʐ] sound and the regular /r/ sound, she could not distinguish between the two. The [ʐ] occurs only in monosyllabic, open syllable words, it does not occur in closed syllable words such as *rùl* 'snake'. Each of the words the sound is attested in has a minimal pair, for example we can have [ʐà] ~ [rá] 'cotton', which is a minimal pair with *rhá* 'hair'.

Minimal pairs establishing the phonemic status of the labiovelar and palatal glides are given below:

(2.29) /y/ vs. /w/

we	COPULA
yè	'rat (year)'

/w/ appears to be in free variation with a voiced bilabial stop /b/ in some environments. This free variation appears to be restricted only to two semantic categories of words: ordinal numbers, and colours. For example it is acceptable in Sherpa to have the following realisations:

(2.30) [sérbu~sérwu~séru] 'yellow'
[màrbu~màrwu~màru] 'red'
[shíwa~shíba] 'fourth'

/w/ may also occur as the C2 in consonant clusters when preceded by a stop (these clusters are rare in Sherpa, as discussed in §2.8.2 below). For example:

(2.31) *thwí=ki* 3pl=GEN/ERG
twà 3sg.INAN/PLURAL
khwí=ki 2sg=GEN/ERG

Another place /w/ can occur is in coda position, as illustrated by the following minimal pairs:

(2.32) *ków* ' to prick'
kó 'leather'

lòw 'base'
ló 'lungs'

2.3 Consonant Phonemes

The discussion above regarding the phonetic status of Sherpa consonant phones and their environments has yielded the Sherpa phonemes given in Table 2.2 below.

Table 2.2: Sherpa consonant phoneme inventory

	Labial	dental-alveolar	retroflex	palato-alveolar	palatal	velar	uvular	glottal
Stop	p	t	ʈ		ky	k	q	ʔ
	ph	th	ʈh		khy	kh		
	b	d	ɖ		gy	g		
Fricative	f	s		š				h
		z						
Affricate		ts		c				
		tsh		ch				
				j				
Nasal	m	n			ɲ	ŋ		
Liquid		lh rh						
		l r						
Glide	w				y			

2.4 Vowel phones

Sherpa has a wide array of vowel phones including oral and nasal phones. Vowels in Sherpa may occur word initially, medially and finally. Sherpa has breathy vowels which may occur in low tone syllables following voiced stops. Breathy vowels are not presented in the phone inventory for Sherpa, but are discussed with relation to tone in §2.6. Table 2.3 below presents the phone inventory for Sherpa oral vowels.

Table 2.3: Sherpa vowel phone inventory

i ɪ			ʊu
œ			
	e		
		ʌ	o ɔ
	æ	a	ɑ

2.4.1 Front vowels

[i] and [ɪ] are in complementary distribution, with [ɪ] occurring in closed syllables and [i] occurring in open syllables. This distribution is captured in the following rule:

(2.33) /i/ → [ɪ] / __C$

(2.34) [i] vs. [ɪ]

[mì]	'person'
[mɪ́k]	'eye'
[tsí]	'total'
[tsírup]	'squeeze'

/i / is considered the underlying phoneme on the basis of distribution, as it occurs in a wider array of environments than does [ɪ]. It may occur word initially or finally, for example:

(2.35)

íwi	'mother-in-law'
ìki	'letter'

The following pair demonstrates the phonemic contrast between /i/ and /e/:

(2.36) /i/ vs. /e/

ŋì	'1pl'
ŋè	'1sgGEN/ERG'

2.4.2 Back vowels

The high back tense vowel /u/ and high back lax vowel [ʊ] are in complimentary distribution. /u/ occurs in open syllables following any consonant and in word-initial position. For example:

(2.37) /u/ vs. [ʊ]

kú	'statue'
úru	'mother's younger sister'
ùrkyok	'corner'

[ʊ] occurs only between consonants. It does not occur syllable finally. For example:

(2.38)	[rʊ̀l]	*rùl*	'snake'
	[lʊ̀mu]	*lúmu*	'flute'

/u/ is considered the underlying phoneme as it occurs in a wider array of environments. The following minimal pair set establishes the status of /u/ as a phoneme:

(2.39) /u/ vs. /o/ vs. /ɑ/ vs. /a/

sú	'who'
sà	'tooth'
sá	'incense'
sò	'yak food'

The mid front open vowel [œ] is an allophone of /o/. It occurs in complementary distribution with [o] following palatal velars and the voiced palatal affricate. This is illustrated in (2.40):

(2.40) /o/ vs. [œ]

[khyœraŋ]	*khyóraŋ*	'2 sg'
[jœnda]	*jónda*	'boy'

This distribution is illustrated in the following rule:

(2.41) /o/ → [œ] / palatal ___

The following minimal pair set confirms the phonemic status of the back vowels:

(2.42) /o/ vs. /ɑ/ vs. /u/

gò	'door'
gà	'skin dirt'
gù	'nine'

The low front vowel [æ] is an allophone of /a/. It occurs following the palatal velars, and the palatal nasal. It also occurs following the voiced palato-alveolar affricate /j/, although this occurs in only one word borrowed from English, which is [jækit] *jakit* 'jakit'. The /a/~[æ] alternation is illustrated below:

(2.43) /a/ vs. [æ]

[khyæni]	*khyàni*	'back'
[ɲæk]	*ɲàk*	'meat fat'

There are no examples in the database of /a/ occurring following a palatal and I therefore propose that /a/ and [æ] are in complementary distribution and that [æ] is an allophone of /a/, as captured in the following rule:

(2.44) /a/ → [æ] / palatal___

Further oppositions involving /a/ are illustrated below:

(2.45) /a/ vs. /ɑ/

[làwa]	'steam'
[lɑ̀wa]	'servant'

[ɔ] is in complementary distribution with /a/. It occurs following a labiovelar glide, with /a/ occurring elsewhere. For example:

(2.46) /a/ vs. [ɔ]

[twɔ]	*twà*	'3sg. INAN'
[kwɔ]	*kwa*	'broom'

The distribution of /a/ vs. [ɔ] is illustrated in the following rule:

(2.47) /a/ → [ɔ] /w__

The two sounds /a/ and /ʌ/ are in free variation in some words, however, I have been unable to establish any environmental conditioning for these alternations. The two sounds are consistently interchangeable in the word for 'sky'. For example:

(2.48) /a/ vs. [ʌ]

[nám] – [nʌ́m] 'sky'

In other closed syllable words, such as *ná-p* - 'mucus', I was consistently given [náp], and Yangji could not hear the difference between [náp] and [nʌ́p] when I tried to elicit for them. Nor could she hear the difference between [nám] and [nʌ́m] in her own production. /a/ is considered the underlying phoneme on the basis of its wider distribution.

2.5 Vowel phonemes

The discussion above regarding the phonetic status of Sherpa oral vowel phones and their environments has yielded the Sherpa vowel phonemes given in Table 2.4 below. The status of nasal vowels is discussed in §2.6 and diphthongs are discussed in §2.7 below.

Table 2.4: Sherpa vowel phoneme inventory

i		u
e	o	
a	ɑ	

As suggested by Table 2.4, only oral vowels are phonemic in Sherpa. The status of nasal vowels is discussed in the following section.

2.6 Nasal vowels

There are no minimal pairs in the database for nasalised vs non-nasalised sounds. Aside from words borrowed from Nepali, such as *ãap* - 'mango', there are two environments where nasalisation is consistently found. The first environment is found in the past tense of verbs with first person subjects. The current suffix [ĩ], is the result of the reduction and grammaticisation of *yin*, an evidential found in classical Tibetan and in many modern Tibetan dialects. As it grammaticized, both the initial glide and the final /n/ were lost, and the latter left its trace as nasalisation on the vowel (this is discussed further in §4.4.3.1).

(2.49) *khá-ĩ* 'I did'
pùl-ĩ 'I pushed'
lha-ĩ 'I boiled'

The second is an environment which Schöttelndreyer and Schöttelndreyer (1973) have labeled as a marker of simultaneous continuous action in texts, and which I have analysed as a reduction of the clause chain marker /ni/, which is illustrated in (2.50) below (see §5.5.8 for further discussion).

Gordon (1969) reported a similar finding regarding the verb-only nasalisation. However, he did find two nouns with nasalisation; I have found only one of them to be nasalised in my elicitations. This is [pĩ] - 'relative'. The other nasalised noun I have is [bãgɑr] -'rafter'. I do not have minimal pairs showing contrasts between these words and

words with oral vowels. Thus there is no clear evidence in favour of positing phonemic nasalisation in nouns. Nasalisation is not widespread and it does not carry a functional load for speakers.

Schöttelndreyer (1971) reports that 'nasalisation is phonemic for all vowels' (cited in Matisoff 1990: 222) but the only examples of nasalisation apparant in the 31 Schöttelndreyer (1973) texts is on verbs when simultaneity of action is being marked. To explore this phenomenon I elicited from my consultant, sentences similar to those reported by Schöttelndreyer and Schöttelndreyer (1973). Forms supplied by my consultant clearly bear the simultaneous action marker, which I gloss as 'CC'. These are given in the right-hand column below. Forms and glosses reported by Schöttelndreyer and Schöttelndreyer (1973) are given in the left-hand column below (tone marks are given after the vowel to avoid conflict with the tilda):

(2.50)	S & S		YANGJI	
	dzṍ	prepare-sim	*zó-p-ni*	prepare-NOM-CC
	sĩ́	say-sim	*sí-ni*	say-CC
	gṹ	wait-sim	*gù-ni*	wait-CC

The Schöttelndreyer's consultant had a clear tendency to reduce the simultaneous morpheme *ni* to nasalisation of the preceding vowel. Thus, in their data it appears that nasalisation is morphological, but not lexical. I therefore do not posit a set of phonemically nasalised vowels. Despite nasalised vowels not being phonemic, I will continue to mark nasalisation on nasalised vowels on the basis of the fact that nasalisation is an important morphological segment.

2.7 Tone

Sherpa has two phonemic tones: high and low. These tones are both realised with a falling contour across monosyllabic and disyllabic words. The two tones differ in the initial pitch before the drop. The domain over which tone is distinctive is the word, as discussed in §2.7.1. The words listed below are minimal pair examples of tonal differences occurring with different vowels.

(2.51) /e/

sér	'gold'
sèr	'hail'
šérwa	'blind'
šèrwa	'Sherpa'

(2.52) /o/

kó	'leather'
kò	'dig'

ló	'lungs'
ló	'cough'
lo̤	'year'
lò	'wall'
ʧhòŋgu	'to give advice'
ʧhóŋgu	'dead' (R)

(2.53) /a/

sà	'copper'
sá	'incense'
lá	'deer'
là	answer to call

(2.54) /u/

lùk	'sheep'
lúk	'pour'

There is a relation between breathy voice and low tone. All breathy vowels are low tone, and all low tone vowels following a voiced stop have some breathiness. In example (2.55) below, [sl̤wa] is low tone and breathy, and [dl̤] carries a low tone following a voiced stop, and has some breathiness.

(2.55)

sl̤wa	'shaman'
dl̤	'here'

Minimal pairs establishing the phonemic status of breathiness are given below:

(2.56)

tsò	'how'
tso̤	'colour'
gò	'door'
go̤	'head'

However, it should be noted that speakers vary in the degree to which breathy voice is produced, suggesting this phonemic distinction is being lost. I have marked it where I have heard it clearly pronounced.

As discussed above, breathy vowels co-occur with low tone, and there is a co-occurrence between breathy vowels and preceding voiced stops. Clear vowels may be either high or low tone, so all low tone vowels are not breathy, as seen in the examples in (2.57) below, which illustrate words which are low tone and clear:

(2.57)

bàkula	'broadbean'
chàŋa	'face'
mùkpa	'wool insect'

Schöttelndreyer (1973) has a distinct patterning of tense vowels occurring with high tone and lax vowels occurring with low tone. This distinction is not attested in my data. In (2.58) below I illustrate both tense and lax vowels with high and low tone.

(2.58)

	Tense		*Lax*	
High tone	*rú*	'avalanche'	*kúr* [kʊr]	'bread'
Low tone	*pù*	'boy'	*rùl* [rʊl]	'snake'

As can be seen from example (2.58), in my data there is no patterning of tense vowels and high tone patterning together, and lax vowels and low tone patterning together.

Throughout the database, and in the minimal pair sets given throughout this chapter, there are several examples where words with the same vowel quality have different tones, which differs from Schöttelndreyer's findings. Both high and low tone co-occur with each of the vowel phonemes. The only tonal restrictions evident on consonant phonemes are in relation to voiced stops and voiceless approximants.

There is only one environment where high tone is predictable, and this is with voiceless approximants. The occurrence of /lh/ and /rh/ is relatively rare in Sherpa. In each of the attested cases of these sounds they occur with a high tone. For example:

(2.59)

rhé	'burn'
lhé	'naval'
rhéku	'bake'
lhárma	'fade'

This observation, however, remains purely descriptive, as there is insufficient data to determine the motivating factor for the tone.

2.7.1 Tonal shift

There are no tonal changes resulting from the addition of affixes. For example, with the addition of the negative morpheme *mV* there is sometimes vowel harmony. However, there appears to be no inherent tone on negative morphemes – i.e. the negative morpheme has the same tone as the following word. This shows that the domain of tone in Sherpa is the word and not the syllable or the morpheme. Examples of the negative prefix are presented in (2.60) below. Other properties of the negative morpheme are discussed in §4.7.

(2.60)

símbi	'finished'
mísimbi	'not finished'
ʧhòŋgu	'see'
màʧhoŋgu	'not see'

I have no evidence of tonal changes in verbs. For example a change from the nominalised citation form to the imperative form of a verb, both in lists and frames, yields no difference in the tone of the word, as in (2.61) below.

(2.61) *ʈóŋ* 'send (it)!'
ʈóŋ-gu 'to send'

2.8 Phonotactics

2.8.1 Syllable structure

Syllables in Sherpa have the following structure: (C) V (C). Although syllables prefer onsets, they are not mandatory. Sherpa has CC clusters (discussed further in §2.8.2 below). The following phonotactic patterns are found in Sherpa:

(2.62)

V	*ú*	'breath'
CCV	*twa*	'PLURAL'
CV	*sà*	'tooth'
CVC	*pùl*	'push'

In general, coda consonant clusters do not occur in Sherpa. The only example in my data of a consonant cluster occurring syllable finally is in *zo̍mpkyuk* 'yak' (specific type of yak). In part, this word consists of the word *zo̍m* 'yak', but I have been unable to establish the meaning of the rest of the word. It is likely that this is not a true consonant cluster, but that /p/ occurs as a result of the release of the bilabial nasal, and is thus epenthetic, resulting in a homorganic nasal consonant sequence in coda position.

2.8.2 Consonant clusters

In general, Sherpa does not permit consonant clusters except, as indicated in §2.1.2.1, in the restricted set of second and third person genitive and ergative pronouns, and in one other word in the data base, as illustrated below:

(2.63)

thwí=ki	3pl=GEN
khwí=ki	2sg=GEN
kwa	'broom'

The only consonant that occurs in C2 position is /w/.

Words may be up to three syllables in length. The only exception in my database is *cá.ba.ra.ši* 'lizard'. Examples are:

(2.64)

1 syllable: *már*	'butter'
2 syllables: *sè.braŋ*	'bee'
3 syllables: *chè.men.dok*	'egg'

2.8.3 Diphthongs

The following diphthongs are found in Sherpa: Vi ([aĩ], [oĩ], [uĩ], [eĩ]). All example of these dipthongs are bimorphemic, with a morpheme boundary preceding the morpheme *-ĩ* found in the past tense of verbs. Examples of these are given below:

(2.65) *lha-ĩ́* 'I boiled.'
ŋu-ĩ́ 'I cried.'
ho-ĩ̀ 'I came.'
so-ĩ́ 'I ate.'

As mentioned in §2.6, the diphthongs have developed from the contraction of the copula *yin* and its development into a verbal suffix. On this basis, I do not posit a CVV canonical syllable structure template as the nasalised [ĩ] is not historically part of the preceding syllable.

2.9 Stress

Stress in Sherpa falls on either the first or the second syllable in disyllabics, although initial stress is more frequent. For example:

(2.66) *'lúŋ.ba* 'village'
'zím.bu 'grab'
'ɸì.muŋ 'ankle'
ór.'tuk 'gale'
sà.'šiŋ 'field'
mà.'yaŋ 'family'

I have not, as yet, been able to work out a clear patterning for stress placement; the distribution may be lexically determined. Initial and non-initial stress both occur with high and low tone words, with the full array of vowels in the nucleus of the stressed syllable, (excepting the low back vowel /ɑ/ which occurs only in unstressed syllables) and with the full inventory of possible consonants in syllable onsets. The patterning in polysyllabic words is clearer, as stress falls on the penultimate syllable, however there are few polysyllabic words in the database. For example:

(2.67) *lò.ti.'di.yu* 'satisfy'
bù.'gyel.daŋ 'worm'

2.10 Phonological differences in Solu and Khumbu Sherpa

When I began collecting data on the Sherpa language I immediately noticed both lexical and phonological differences between my 21 year old Lukla consultant's language use and that reported by Gordon (1969), and by Schöttelndreyer & Schöttelndreyer in their many works on Phaplu Sherpa which is spoken in Solu. There were also differences in the data reported by Henry Thompson (1976) in his Khumbu Sherpa word list. On the basis of these differences in data from speakers of three distinct geographical locations in Solu Khumbu, from the outset of my data collection period in Sherpa villages I anticipated that I would find evidence of distinctions between Solu, Pharak and Khumbu speakers. I set out with the hypothesis that there are three distinct dialects of Sherpa spoken in the Solu, Pharak and Khumbu regions of Eastern Nepal.

During a visit to these areas I elicited word lists and narratives from speakers from different villages in Solu and Khumbu, with a particular focus on speakers from Lukla, a

village close to the centre of Pharak. The word list that I elicited roughly followed the Swadesh word list. However, throughout the data collection period it was altered on several occasions in order to accommodate the speaker and obtain as many words as possible. This resulted in a core number of 80 words being elicited across each of the speakers.

2.10.1 Segmental differences

During collection of this data, people told me that there were slight, but noticeable differences between Solu and Khumbu Sherpa. One difference which they cited, and which was attested in the available data, was the retention of a word initial /n/ preceding some vowels in Solu Sherpa, where it is lost in Khumbu. In Table 2.5 below I present different pronunciations of the word for 'ear' across Northern and Southern dialects of Sherpa:

Table 2.5: Initial sonorant deletion across Sherpa dialects

NORTHERN		SOUTHERN	
Khumbu	*Rolwaling*	*Solu*	*Jiri*
ámjok	*ámjok*	*námjok*	*námcok*

As can be seen above in the comparison of various dialects of Sherpa, for the Northern speakers the word for 'ear' is *ámjok,* or *ámjoʔ,* whereas for the Southern speakers the work is '/n/ + ámjok' or '/n/ + ámcok'. At present I am treating this as an instance of /n/ deletion in the Northern dialects, and am assuming that the underlying historical form had an /n/ initial. Although this is clearly a cognate with Lhasa Tibetan 'ear' - *ámco*, which has no /n/ initial, an examination of several other related Tibeto-Burman languages indicates that these typically have some kind of sonorant initial for the word 'ear', for example in Helambu Sherpa the word for ear is *lámjoʔ.*

A phenomenon frequently found in other Tibeto-Burman languages is a further difference apparent between the two dialects. This is the reduction of syllable- and word-final voiceless velar and bilabial stops (this could be a generalisation regarding voiceless stops however I have found no final dental stops throughout my data collections). In Table 2.6 below the words *árkyok* 'horn', and *ŋóp* cry, have retained voiceless stops in the Southern speakers' dialects, while for speakers from the Northern dialects voiceless stops reduce to a glottal word finally, and, as evidenced in the example of *nàʔpo* 'black', preceding a syllable boundary.

Table 2.6: Final voiceless stop retention across Sherpa dialects

	Jiri	Solu	Khumbu	Rolwaling
Feather	*árkyok*	*nárkyok*	*árkyok/árkyoʔ*	*árkyoʔ*
Egg	*kortsu*	*chèmendok*	*chèmendok/chèmendoʔ*	
Black	*nákpo*	*nàkpo*	*nàkpo/nàʔpo*	*nàʔpo*

In the instances of Northern speakers who produce a final voiceless stop, it is always unreleased, and is often difficult to distinguish from a glottal.

There are clearly phonological differences between the Northern and Southern dialects of Sherpa. The Khumbu and Solu distinction I have proposed on the basis of preliminary work is a reflection of the importance of geographical location in the dialect differences of Sherpa. Preliminary analysis indicates that the most influential factor in the two dialect differences is proximity to Tibet. I anticipate that future statistical analysis on the basis of a larger data sample will support a claim that there is a correlation between a speaker's proximity to Tibet and the influence of Tibetan phonological features in their variety of Sherpa.

3 *Morphology of the noun phrase*

3.1 Structure of the noun phrase

The noun phrase in Sherpa consists of an obligatory noun or pronoun. It may also have one each of an optional determiner, casemarker, numeral classifier, number maker or emphatic marker. The ordering of elements in the NP is relatively fixed. The only element of an NP which may precede the head noun is a determiner. This is typically a demonstrative. Numerals, classifiers, casemarkers and emphatic markers follow the head noun. In lexicalised phrases such as *tàŋpo ŋul=ki*[1] 'ancient time', (akin to *once upon a time* in English) the NP may be proceded by an adjective, however in general use this is not common. My consultant mentioned that she thought the numeral could be either preceding or following a head noun, however in her natural speech it always followed the noun. I tested the ordering of elements in the noun phrase with many people throughout my time in Khumbu and only one speaker, a yak driver from near Pangboche, said that he thought NUM+NOUN was acceptable. Again, he said that he would not use it but that he had heard it used. It appears that, as with adjectives, numerals may be in an initial position in lexicalised phrases such as [*cík raŋ cík* 'one by one']. It is possible that speakers who think that NUM+NOUN ordering is acceptable are thinking of this type of construction.

Examples (3.1a – d) below illustrate noun phrases of various structures:

(3.1) a. *thàma* *thì* *úlduk* *thì=ki* *jónda-ti=la*
and that owl that=ERG boy-PART=DAT

šur *ki* *nok*
chase IMP EVID
'And that owl was chasing the boy.'

b. *dìwa* *kàruŋ* *twa* *gírpu* *nok*
those window PL big COP
'Those windows are big.'

c. *thì-ti* *jónda* *cík* *taŋ* *kí* *cík* *taŋ* *bàlwa* *cík*
that-PRT boy one and dog one and frog one

khya-ni *dàlza* *thìrmu* *súm* *cùŋgu* *yi* *nok*
do-CC friend best three receive IMP EVID
'The boy, the dog, and the frog were the three best friends.'

[1] The '=' symbol denotes a case relation between a noun and a casemarker.

d. *jorsali* *sámba* *thì* *chák* *nok*
Jorsale bridge that break EVID
'The bridge at Jorsale broke.'

3.2 Types of lexical nouns

Lexical nouns in Sherpa may be monomorphemic or compound nouns. Monomorphemic nouns are typical, however compounds occur occasionally. These are discussed below.

3.2.1 Monomorphemic nouns

Nouns comprising a single morpheme are generally monosyllabic as in (3.2a) or disyllabic as in (3.2b) below:

(3.2) a. *lhá* 'god'
már 'butter'

b. *èbraŋ* 'fly'
cèla 'tongue'

3.2.2 Compounds

Compounds in Sherpa can be constructed from two or more single words which combine to form new words. The head of the compound may occur as either the initial or final word. There are some rare cases in the database where compounds have taken on idiosyncratic lexical meaning in which the elements are juxtaposed and this juxtaposition gives rise to the new meaning. Typically, however, the meaning of compounds is a combination of the two juxtaposed words. The number of compounds in the database is small and there are very few cases where a compound is greater that two syllables. Some compounds are illustrated below:

(3.3) a. *chá + pú* *chápu*
bird + fur 'feather'

b. *úli + ʈhák* *úliʈhak*
moon+blood 'menstrual blood'

c. *mík + chú* *míkchu*
eye + water 'tear'

d. *nám + ɖùl* *námɖul*
sky + wheel 'airplane'

e. *chá + ki + mèndok* *chèmendok*
bird + GEN + flower 'egg'

The word for 'egg', *chèmendok* is an excellent illustration of a Sherpa compound, as it is so highly lexicalised that none of my consultants could break down all of the component parts. This word has undergone a phonological change which is also evident in the pronoun system of Sherpa (discussed in §3.3.1). This change is one where the genitive marker *=ki* reduces to *=i* and then lowers after /a/ in *chá*, to become *=e* and produce *ché*. Suprasegmental features of word stress and tone suggest that *chèmendok* is a single word as *chá* is unstressed and high tone, *mèndok* has initial stress and low tone, and *chèmendok* has initial stress and low tone. Further evidence for calling such uses compounds rather than sequences of words that collocate but remain separate, include the inability to insert a genitive marker between components, as is possible in similar sequences of collocated but individual words, for example 'egg' may not be realised as (3.4) below:

(3.4) **chá=ki* *mèndok*
bird=GEN lower

However, the words used to refer to 'bark' are not considered part of a compound and may be realised as (3.5a) or (3.5b) below:

(3.5) a. *dòŋbu=ki+phíkok*
tree=GEN covering

b. *dòŋbu* *phíkok*
tree covering

Another source of evidence for compounding is semantic. Compounded words are typically considered to have a higher specificity of meaning than words which are simply juxtaposed. Consider the word *chápu* 'feather' again, which is a combination of *chá* 'bird' and *pú* 'hair'. The meaning of the compound identifies that the bird has a specific type of outer body covering, namely feathers. This covering is unique to birds and is particular in its meaning. Greater specificity of meaning alone, however, does not indicate compounding, as illustrated by the fact that each of my consultants established that *chápu* and *chèmendok* are phonologically single words and that *dòŋbu phíkok* is a combination of two separate words. Even though *dòŋbu phíkok* has a more specific meaning than the combination of each of the words, it carries two tones and thus must be thought of as two separate but collocated words.

3.3 Pronouns

Sherpa pronouns include personal pronouns, interrogative pronouns and demonstratives. These are discussed in the following sections together with reflexives.

3.3.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns in Sherpa are given in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Sherpa pronoun paradigm

	ABS	ERG/GEN	DAT/LOC/ASS
1 SING.	*ŋà*	*ŋè* *ɲè=ki*	*ŋà=la*
1 PL.	*ŋì*	*ŋì=ki*	*ŋì=la*
2 SING.	*khyóroŋ*	*khyóroŋ=ki* *khóre*	*khyóroŋ=la*
2 PL.	*khíraŋ*	*khwí= ki*	*khíraŋ=la*
3 SING. AN.	*khó*	*khó=ki*	*khó=la*
3 SING. INAN.	*thí*	*thí=ki*	*thí=la*
3 PL. AN	*khópa/wa*	*khópa=ki*	*khópa=la*
3 PL. INAN.	*thwà/thìwa*	*thwí=ki*	*thwà=la*

There is no inclusive/exclusive pronominal distinction in Sherpa. However if speakers wish to differentiate between the two, there are two different means for expressing first person inclusive. Speakers may use the Tibetan term *dàkpu* 'we' instead of the usual pronoun *ŋì*, or they may use the substantive morpheme *wòroŋ* 'all' together with *ŋì*, which basically renders 'we all'. The initial velar nasal in the first person absolutive case *(ŋà)* occasionally becomes a palatal nasal in the ergative/genitive case *(ɲè)* where *=ki* has reduced to *=i*, and it can be realised as either *ɲei* or *ɲe=ki*.

3.3.2 Demonstrative pronouns

There are two commonly used demonstrative pronouns which express distance and orientation with respect to the speaker. These signify two primary degrees of distance: proximal *dị* and distal *thì*. For example:

(3.6) a. *dị* *kalam* *yin*
DEM pen COP
'This is a pen.'

b. *thì* *kalam* *yin*
DEM pen COP
'That is a pen.'

Demonstratives may be pluralised by the addition of *-wa/ba*, for example the proximal plural is *dịwa* (occasionally realised as *dwa*) and the distal plural is *thìwa*. Occasionally *thìwa* is realised as *thwa*, although this was only attested in elicitation when I tried to distinguish between the general plural marker *twà* and a plural demonstrative. After the distinction was highlighted my consultant provided a paradigm but she found this very strange and as a result I am not entirely convinced that a distal plural is likely to be used in spontaneous, natural speech). Plural demonstrative uses are illustrated below:

(3.7) a. *thìwa* *dìŋmi* *khòla* *nok*
these ground upon COP
'These are on the ground.'

b. *dwà* *phúmpeza* *thì* *nok*
those woman that COP
'Those are the women.'

A third remote distal pronoun may be used in addition to the primary demonstratives to express large distances. For example:

(3.8) *yéyo* *Australia* *nok*
yonder Australia COP
'Australia is over there.'

3.3.3 Interrogative and indefinite pronouns

3.3.3.1 Interrogative pronouns

Interrogative pronouns in Sherpa are as follows:

(3.9)

sú	'who'	
nàm	'when'	
kháni	'where'	
jíla	'why'	
khàŋ	'what'	
chú khóti	'which'	
súiki	'whose'	of who
súla	'whom'	by who
chú khyáni	'how'	what do
chúsi chòla	'when'	at what time (typically Nepali *bela* is used)

Interrogatives occur in the final position in the NP. They immediately precede the verb. For example:

(3.10) a. *thì* *kyé-ti* *sú* *gyáp* *suŋ*
that noise-PRT who make EVID
'Who made that noise?'

b. *khyó=re* *mìŋ* *khàŋ* *yin*
you=GEN name what COP
'What is your name?'

c. *thì* *phúmpeza-ti* *nàm* *gí* *nok*
that woman-PRT when leave EVID?
'When is she leaving?'

3.3.3.2 Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite pronouns in Sherpa are as follows:

(3.11)

tsécik	'some'
khàŋsaŋmin	'none'
khàŋrecire	'anything'

khàŋsaŋme	'nothing'
mí cík	'someone'
dakpu (Tibetan)	'everyone'

Indefinite pronouns occur in the final position in the NP. They immediately precede the verb. For example:

(3.12) a. *khó=la ʧàŋga tsécik nok*
he=DAT money some EVID
'He has some money.'

b. *thì náŋba-ti khàŋsaŋme min-ʤuk*
that family-PRT nothing NEG-COP
'That family has nothing.'

3.4 Number marking

The plural marker in Sherpa is *twà*. It is a separate word as evidenced by the fact that it carries low tone which remains constant across uses with both high- and low- toned nouns. There is no morphological inflection for number in noun phrases. Plurals are marked by either adding a number as a marker of specific plurality or by use of the general plural marker. For example:

(3.13) singular: *kàruŋ* 'window'
plural: *kàruŋ ŋi* 'two windows'
kàruŋ twà 'multiple windows'

The plural marker in Sherpa is not obligatory and is typically only used when there is the need for distinction, or when talking about large numbers of collective entities, as illustrated in (3.14a) below taken from a narrative. In this example, *syerwatwa* 'Sherpas' is plural as it refers to a large collective group. We can see that this is not an animacy distinction however when we consider example (3.14b) where we can note that *rìki* 'potato' and *khàŋba* house are not marked as being plural.

(3.14) a. *thàma thé šerwa twà rìki táp-ni só-ni khàŋba*
and there Sherpa PL potatoes grow-CC eat house
tìkpe tìkpe zó-ni
small small make-CC
'And there Sherpas grew and ate potatoes and built small houses...'

b. *bišalbazar=la ŋì dàlza ʧhé suŋ*
bišalbazaar=LOC we friend meet PSTDJ
'We met our friends at Bishal Bazaar.'

The distinction between singular and non-singular appears not to be obligatory in the noun phrase, as evidenced in (3.14a) where *rìki* and *kháŋba* were not marked for number.

3.5 Casemarking

The casemarkers in Sherpa are as follows:

(3.15)	*=ki/gi/re*	genitive/ergative
	=la	dative, associative, allative, instrumental, comitative, locative
	=ne/me	ablative

The casemarker *=ki/=gi* marks genitive and ergative case. In the majority of instances the two forms are in free variation. In some cases they exhibit patterns of long distance assimilation, where they exhibit the voicing contrast of the initial sound of the noun they are cliticised to, for example, in both elicitation and texts my consultants primarily said *ɲe=gi* 'I=GEN/ERG'. The word *ɲe=ki* sounded odd, although it was also considered acceptable. The patterns of assimilation did not occur across all words however, as 'she=GEN/ERG' was most often *khwi=gi* and rarely *khwi=ki.* It appears that in the majority of utterances either *=ki* or *=gi* can be used, however an examination of the texts in my database indicates that *=ki* is used with more frequency than *=gi.* As such, I have chosen *=ki* as the underlying morpheme. Henceforth in this sketch, I shall use *=ki* to represent the ergative and genitive casemarker.

The ablative marker *=nè* seems to be used by Sherpa speakers to the North of Nepal, who are closer to Tibet. It is similar to the Tibetan ablative marker *=nèe.* Schöttelndreyer (1980) gives the markers *=sur,* and *=na* for ablative. My consultant informed me that *=sur* is used by Solu dialect speakers and that she did not know *=na.* There is a further ablative casemarker *=me,* which may be interchanged with *=ne,* although it is used less widely.

Casemarkers in Sherpa are phonologically bound and are morphologically clitics, as evidenced by the fact that the scope of casemarkers is across the entire phrase rather than across individual words. Conjoined nouns are casemarked once, at the end of the second conjunct. For example:

(3.16)	*pasaŋ*	*táŋ*	*oŋmu=ki*	*kháŋba*
	pasaŋ	CONJ	oŋmu=GEN	house
	'Pasang and Oŋmu's house'			

In (3.16) the house belongs to both Pasang and Ongmu, although only the final possessive noun is marked with the genitive. It is not acceptable to suffix the genitive marker to the initial noun 'pasang'. For example:

(3.17) **pasaŋ=ki táŋ oŋmukháŋba*

Nor is it acceptable to suffix the genitive marker to more than one noun in a conjoined noun phrase:

(3.18) **pasaŋ=ki táŋ oŋmu=ki kháŋba*

These restrictions also occur across uses of the other casemarkers *=la,* and *=me/ne,* and these casemarkers are therefore also considered to be clitics.

In Sherpa, as in many Tibeto-Burman languages of the area (Genetti 1986, 1990), one casemarker is used for several different case functions. In the following sections I present each of the casemarkers and the variety of functions they are used for.

3.5.1 Casemarker =la [2]

The casemarker *=la* has several functions, including dative, locative, allative, associative, instrumental and comitative:

3.5.1.1 Dative uses of =la

The dative use of *=la* marks recipients in ditransitive verbs. For example:

(3.19) *khyóroŋ ŋà=la kitab náŋ*
you I=DAT book give
'You give the book to me.'

3.5.1.2 Locative uses of =la

The locative use of *=la* marks spatial locations and temporal relations. For example:

(3.20) a. Spatial location:

yembur=la tsó cík nok
kathmandu=LOC lake one COP
'In Kathmandu there is a lake.'

b. Temporal location:

òroŋ zapemba=la thétu nok
we Saturday=LOC meet EVID
'We met on Saturday.'

3.5.1.3 Allative uses of =la

The allative use of *=la* marks movement towards a goal.

(3.21) *pasaŋ gòmpa=la gàl suŋ*
pasaŋ gompa=LOC go PST.DISJ
'Pasaŋ went to the gompa.'

3.5.1.4 Other uses of =la

Associative

(3.22) *ɲè=ki dàlza mù=la ɖà só-ĩ*
I=ERG friend together=ASS rice eat-PST.CONJ
'I ate rice with a friend.'

Comitative

(3.23) *ɲè=ki sámuŋ mù=la ɖà só-ĩ*
I=ERG mushrooms together=ASS rice eat-PST.CONJ
'I ate rice with mushrooms.'

---

[2] This casemarker is identical to the honourific marker *=la* which is used either in conjunction with an honourific verb form or with a regular verb in order to raise it to honourific status.

Instrumental

(3.24) *ɲè=ki khímbok=ki mù=la ɖà só-ĩ*
I=ERG spoon=GEN together=ASS rice eat-PST.CONJ
'I ate rice with a spoon.'

All uses of ablative *=la* require the initial noun *mù* 'together'. It is likely that 'mù' + 'la' is grammaticising toward a single ablative form, as can be seen in other locationals such as *náŋla* 'inside', which is now considered a single word, with *náŋ* alone being an unacceptable form.

As illustrated above, the casemarker *=la* is multifunctional in Sherpa. In the following section I discuss the casemarker *=ki*, which also has several functions.

3.5.2 Casemarker =ki

The casemarker *=ki* is used to mark possession in Noun-Noun relations (genitive case) and to mark subjects of perfective transitive verbs (ergative case). These uses are illustrated below:

3.5.2.1 Genitive =ki

(3.25) *ɖị thì mí ti=ki khàŋba yin*
this that man PRT=GEN house COP
'This is that man's house.'

There is no distinction between alienable possession, where the possession of a noun being expressed may be transferred, such as a drum, and inalienable possession, where the noun being expressed cannot be transferred, such as a hand. For example:

(3.26) a. *phúmpeza=ki lhákpa*
girl=GEN hand
'The girl's hand'

b. *phúmpeza=ki ŋá*
girl=GEN drum
'The girl's drum'

The genitive casemarker is usually obligatory unless a genitive relation is being expressed between two words which are regularly juxtaposed and come together to represent a single unit, as in the case of *dòŋbuphikok* 'bark' discussed in 3.2.2, where 'tree' + 'outercovering' come together to mean 'bark'.

3.5.2.2 Ergative =ki

Subjects of perfective transitive verbs are marked with the ergative case. This occurs in all instances where the subject is an animate agent, and also when the subject is an inanimate natural force. For example:

(3.27) *thàma pemba=ki yaŋji=la támɲe tákʈuk ki wi*
then pemba=ERG yaŋji=DAT language talk IMP EVID
'Then Pemba asked Yangji.' (lit. 'Pemba talked language to Yangji.')

I have few examples where the subject of a perfective transitive verb is inanimate, however, in each of these type of examples in the database, the subject is a natural phenomena, such as a landslide, sun, wind etc. For example:

(3.28) *ŋím=i khá ší ci suŋ*
sun=ERG snow melt make PSTDISJ
'The sun melted the snow.' (lit. 'caused the snow to melt')

In §4.4.2.2 below I discuss ergative casemarking in more detail with relation to tense and aspect. Ergative marking is obligatory for perfective transitive verbs and it occurs consistently in narratives, procedural texts, and elicited sentences.

3.5.3 Casemarker =re

As with the casemarker *=ki*, the casemarker *=re* marks subjects of perfective transitive verbs, and Noun + Noun possession. The use of *=re* is restricted however, to second and third person pronouns. When *=re* is used as the casemarker, the final *-raŋ* of the pronoun is deleted[3]. For example:

(3.29) *ɖàŋ khó=re pùjuŋ kúr suŋ*
yesterday you=ERG boy carry PST.DISJ
'Yesterday you carried the boy.'

3.6 Articles

There is not a separate lexical class of articles in Sherpa. However there are words that function as articles, which are used to distinguish identifiability and referentiality of nouns. The article *thì* is the same as the distal demonstrative pronoun (and third person pronoun). When *thì* is used as an article, it is used to signal definiteness. Absence of *thì*, however, does not signal a lack of definiteness. For example, (3.30a) below has the same meaning as (3.30b). Both are elicited sentences given for 'The mountain is over there'. The indefinite counterpart 'A mountain is over there' yielded the same sentence.

(3.30) a. *yéyo kháŋri nok*
over there mountain COP
'The mountain is over there.'

b. *yéyo thì kháŋri nok*
over there the mountain COP
'The mountain is over there.'

The numeral 'one' is occasionally used in the place of an indefinite article. For example:

---

[3] It is likely that *raŋ ki* is contracted to become *re*.

(3.31) *gàwa* *taŋ* *gàma* *cík* *cúŋgu* *yi* *nok*
old man and old woman one lived EVID
'Once there was living an old man and old woman.'

In the above example the use of the numeral *cík* is not referring to a specific number, but rather an indefinite referent. The use of *cík* as an indefinite article occurs during participant introduction at the beginning of six of my seven narratives. It appears to be a common way to introduce referents in narratives.

3.7 Numerals and measurements

I have two differing sets of numerals from two of my consultants. The cardinal numbers up to twenty are the same for all my consultants, but beyond twenty they differ. This is discussed in details in §3.7.1 below.

3.7.1 Cardinal numbers

Sherpa employs a base ten or decimal number system for counting. Cardinal numbers from one to ten are given below:

(3.32)

cík	'one'	*ŋí*	'two'
súm	'three'	*ší*	'four'
ŋà	'five'	*túk*	'six'
tín	'seven'	*gé*	'eight'
gù	'nine'	*cù*	'ten'

Numbers from eleven to nineteen are formed from the base of 'cù', as illustrated below:

(3.33)

cùcík	'eleven'	*cùŋi*	'twelve'
cùksum	'thirteen'	*cùpši*	'fourteen'
cáŋa	'fifteen'	*cùruk*	'sixteen'
cùptin	'seventeen'	*càpge*	'eighteen'
cùrgu	'nineteen'	*ŋísu/kal*	'twenty'

Numbers higher than twenty differ between my consultants. In my younger consultant's ideolect, higher numbers are formed from a base of ten by taking the stem *kal* and adding a single numeral to form base-ten numbers. In my older consultant's ideolect, higher numbers are formed from a base of twenty, although oddly, the same form *kal* is used as a vigesimal system with a base of twenty. In (3.34) the numerals of my younger consultant are on the left, while those of one of my older consultant are in the right hand column. My younger consultant was confident using only the numerals that she provided me with, however my older consultant knew both sets of numerals. She considered the numerals given by the younger speaker to be the numbers used by most young people, and said they are more like Tibetan. The different uses are illustrated below:

(3.34)

	Younger speaker		**Older speaker**	
40 -	*kàlshi*	(10 x 4)	*kàl ŋí*	(20 x 2)
50 -	*kàlŋa*	(10 x 5)	*kàlŋí taŋ cùcik*	(20 x 2 + 10)
60 -	*kàltuk*	(10 x 6)	*kàl súm*	(20 x 3)
70 -	*kàltin*	(10 x 7)	*kàlsum taŋ cùcik*	(20 x 3 + 10)
80 -	*kàlge*	(10 x 8)	*kàl ší*	(20 x 4)
90 -	*kàlgu*	(10 x 9)	*kàl ši taŋ cùcik*	(20 x 4 + 10)

Higher numbers in Sherpa are as follows:

(3.35)

	Younger speaker		**Older speaker**	
100 -	*gyà thompa/ seyi cík*		*gyà thompa/ seyi cík*	
200 -	*seyi ŋí*	(100 x 2)	*seyi ŋí*	(100 x 2)
300 -	*seyi súm*	(100 x 3)	*seyi súm*	(100 x 3)
135 -	*gyà thòmpa taŋ kal sum taŋ ŋa*	(100 + 10 x 3 + 5)	*gyà thòmpa taŋ kal cík taŋ cuŋa*	(100 + 20 x 1 + 15)
1,000 -	*hajar* (Nepali)		*tòŋ cík*	

3.7.2 Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers in Sherpa are formed by the addition of *ba, pa* or *wa* to the cardinal number. The three allomorphs of this morpheme are in fairly free variation, there are some dispreferred combination for particular morphemes. The suffix [ba] is more widespread than [pa] or [wa], and may occur in all environments. It is considered the underlying form and is taken as the phonemic representation.

The ordinal numerals are as follows:

(3.36)

1st	*thaŋbu*	2nd	*ŋíwa/ba*
3rd	*súmba*	4th	*šíwa/ba*
5th	*ŋàwa/ba*	10th	*cùba*

Although they are rarely used, ordinal numbers may run higher than ten, with speakers simply adding the appropriate suffix when needed.

3.7.3 Quantifiers

Some Sherpa quantifiers are given below:

(3.37)

phèka	'half' (only temporal)
lám phèka	'half way' (used measuring distance)
cíkla	'each' (one + DAT)
yàmbati	'another'
bàŋi	'too much' (mass)
máŋmu	'too many' (count)
ɲúŋme	'less'

khetak	'full'
ʧákʧuk	'every'
ʧákʧuk khyani tso lem nok	'total' (gloss: every do how much COP)

3.7.4 Measures

The typical mode of measuring dry goods is by using the hand as a measuring tool. For example:

(3.38)

1 handful	1 *màna* (Nepali) =1 handful
2 *mana*	1 *kúrwa*/1 *pham* =2 handfuls
4 *kurwa*/8 *mana*	1 *pati* (Nepali) =8 handfuls
20 *pati*	1 *muri* (Nepali) =160 handfuls
approx. 1 kg	*gar*
approx. 2 kg	*ŋà*
approx. 20 kg	*šaŋ*

There is only one form of liquid measure. This is *bir boʧol* (for kerosene), which is clearly taken from the English words 'beer bottle'. Sometimes *pati* is also used for liquid measures, and *sákyo* (spoons that approximate hand size) are also used as measurements.

3.7.5 Classifiers

A noun classification system is used in some noun phrases to express the class of the noun. These classifiers occur only preceding numerals and do not occur with adjectives and verbs. The system is limited to two classifiers which were difficult to elicit and were not marked on identical phrases elicited some time apart. This suggests that the use of these classifiers is not productive, or at least not obligatory in everyday use. At present there is only evidence that the classifiers are used for mass versus count distinctions. The numeral classifiers are illustrated below.

The classifier 'dokpu'

dokpu is used with non-adult humans and non-human objects. For example:

(3.39)

a. *šòmak* *dokpu* *sum*
leaf CLASS three
'three leaves'

b. *rá* *dokpu* *sum*
goats CLASS three
'three goats'

c. *àŋa* *dokpu* *sum*
child CLASS three
'three children'

The classifier 'mera'

This classifier is used only with humans, either adult or non-adult. For example:

(3.40) a. *àŋa* *mera* *súm*
children CLASS three
'three children'

b. *mí* *mera* *súm*
person CLASS three
'three people'

3.8 Adjectives

Adjectives in Sherpa form their own lexical class. For example:

(3.41) a. *thì* *kitab* *màru*
that book red
'That book is red.'

b. *thì phúmpeza* *úŋbu.riŋbu* *nok*
that girl high.long COP
'That girl is tall.'

c. *ɲè=ki* *kaʧhi* *rhéndi* *nok*
I=GEN bed hard COP
'My bed is hard.'

Morphological evidence that there is an independent lexical class of adjectives is that they exhibit derivational behavior when they change lexical class from an adjective to an adverbial, for example:

(3.42) a. quick *túmpu*
quickly *túmpo*

b. quiet *kòsinpu*
quietly *kòsinpo*

Here the final vowel of the adjective changes from /o/ to /u/. This occurs across all adjective to adverb changes in the database. Apparently only adjectives which end in /u/ may be used to derive adverbs; I was not able to elicit adverbs from adjectives not ending in /u/, such as *jér* 'sticky', *cèndi* 'heavy' etc. Further evidence of the non-verbal status of adjectives is seen when they are inflected for degree. In the following examples *-mu* is an unmarked adjectival suffix, *-wa* is the comparative morpheme (this is typically an *-a* that suffixes to the final consonant of the adjective), and *šok* the superlative (this can also be realised as *-ok* suffixed to the final consonant of the adjective). For example:

(3.43) *-(C)u* *lé-mu* 'good'
-wa *lé-wa* 'better'
- šok *lé-šok* 'best'

These suffixes are further illustrated in the following sentences:

(3.44) a. *thì phúmpeza úŋbu.ríŋbu nok*
that girl high.long COP
'The girl is tall.'

b. *khwí=ki moma ɲè=ki moma sina úŋburiŋ-wa nok*
her mother 1sg=GEN mother than high.long-CM COP
'Her mother is taller than my mother.'

c. *khwí=ki awa úŋbu.riŋ-šok nok*
her father high.long-SPL COP
'Her father is tallest.'

3.9 Discourse particles

There is only one discourse particle attested in my database, this being *ti*. It is glossed with the Nepali particle 'cahĩ' which is considered to be highly bleached semantically, and is often used as an emphatic marker. The particle *ti* is used widely (as may be noted throughout this grammar) and the degree of emphasis contributed by the particle is difficult to determine. It appears that, as with *cahĩ*, it is spreading in its use. It occurs with different types of nouns, across number and person. In (3.46) *ti* occurs between the head noun and the ergative casemarker:

(3.45) *thìp húmpeza tì=ki kúr sì suŋ*
she woman PRT=ERG dog beat PST
'She beat the dog yesterday.' (in context of telling tales)

The particle also occurs following a demonstrative, as in (3.47) below, which also serves to indicate the fact that it is not always the final element in the noun phrase.

(3.46) *thì ti jónda cík taŋ kí cík taŋ bàlwa cík*
that PRT boy one and dog one and frog one

khyá-nid àlza thìrmu súm chúŋ-gu yi nok
do-CC friend best three were-NOM IMP EVID
'The boy, the dog, and the frog were the three best friends.'

Clearly this discourse particle requires extensive investigation.

4 *Morphology of the verb phrase*

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I examine the morphology of the verb phrase in Sherpa. In §4.2 I present the copulas and inchoatives, and in §4.3 simple and compound verbs are presented. Stem classes are laid out in §4.4. In §4.5 I introduce the Sherpa finite verb, including a discussion of tense, aspect and evidentiality. Section 4.6 is a description of mood in Sherpa, with illustrations of imperative, prohibitive, optative, and hortative mood. In §4.7 I discuss causation, and in §4.8 I present negation.

4.2 Copulas

There are three copulas in Sherpa. These are *yin*, *we*, *nok*. They are not inflected for person or number. The copulas each have one or more functions including equational, locational, attributive and possessive functions. Each of the copula forms also functions as an evidential. In this section I will briefly discuss the ways that some of the distinctions in the use of copulas can be traced to evidential functions. Evidentials are discussed in detail in §4.5.3.

The copula *yin* is used in equational, possessive, and locational sentences. Example (4.1) below illustrates equational uses.

(4.1) a. *ŋà* *lòpta* *yin*
I student COP
'I am a student.'

b. *khyòroŋ* *gyérkin* *yin*
you teacher COP
'You are a teacher.'

c. *khó* *lòpta* *yin*
he student COP
'He is a student.'

The possessive function of *yin* is based on an equational structure including two independent NPs. These sentences have a different structure to possessives occurring with the evidentials *nok* and *we*. However, the equational sentences below convey the same meaning as possessive functions of the other copulas, and I therefore include these examples as an illustration of one means of conveying possession in Sherpa. For example:

(4.2) a. *dì* *màlduk* *ɲè=ki* *yin*
this blanket I=GEN COP
'This is my blanket.'

b. *dì* *kitab* *khóre* *yin*
this book you.GEN COP
'This is your book.'

c. *dì* *kitab* *khwí=ki* *yin*
this book he=GEN COP
'This is his book.'

Locational uses of *yin* are essentially existentials, as is evident when we look at the literal meaning of the sentences in (4.3) below.

(4.3) a. *ɲè=ki* *loj lúkla=la* *yìn*
I=GEN lodge Lukla=LOC COP
'My lodge is in Lukla.' (lit. 'My lodge in Lukla exists.')

b. *khóre* *samakushi=la* *khàŋba* *yin*
youGEN samakushi=in house COP
'Your house is in Samakushi.' (lit. 'Your house in Samakushi exists.')

c. *khwí=ki* *khàŋba* *yembur=la* *yin*
he=GEN house Kathmandu COP
'His house is in Kathmandu.' (lit. 'His house in Kathmandu exists.')

Another possessive and locational copula is *we*. This copula is similar to the evidential *wi* which marks events or states which are general knowledge. The evidential *wi* occurs only in the imperfective aspect following *=ki,* and the vowel assimilates to the high front vowel of the imperfective marker *=ki*, deriving *=ki wi*; *=ki we* is unattested. I do not posit that *we* and *wi* are different morphemes. In fact I suggest they are allomorphs of the same morpheme, with *we* as the basic allomorph as it has the widest distribution. However, for ease of reading throughout this paper I will continue to write *we* when the copula is used and *wi* when the evidential occurs in imperfective constructions.

The copula *we* is used in possessive and locational sentences. It can be seen in (4.4) below that for *we* the possessive structure is essentially locational and the dative/locative casemarker *=la* is used to express the possessor. This is the case with all *we* possessives, regardless of whether the possessed element is human, such as in (4.4d) or inanimate, as in (4.4a). In all examples with *we,* a possessor NP is required. There is also no distinction between alienable and inalienable possession, as seen when we compare (4.4c) and (4.4d). Example (4.4) below illustrates possessive uses:

(4.4) a. *ŋà=la* *khímbok* *cík* *we*
I=DAT spoon one COP
'I have a spoon.'

b. *khyóroŋ=la loj we*
you=DAT lodge COP
'You have a lodge.'

c. *khó=la loj we*
she=DAT lodge COP
'She has a lodge.'

d. *khó=la pèza súm we*
she=DAT child three COP
'She has three children.'

e. *khó=la théptok súm we*
he=DAT thumb three COP
'He has three thumbs.'

There are two means of expressing location in sentences that have *we* as the copula. The locative element can either be a locational deictic (proximal or distal) as in (4.5 a,b) or a *=la* marked noun phrase as in (4.5 c-e). For example:

(4.5) a. *ɲè=ki khàŋba dè we*
I=GEN house here COP
'My house is here.'

b. *amadablam thé we*
amadablam there COP
'Amadablam is there.' (pointing out Mount Amadablam on a postcard)

c. *ɲè=ki khàŋba oztralya=la we*
I=GEN house Australia=LOC COP
'My house is in Australia.'

d. *khóre khàŋba samakuši=la we*
youGEN house samakushi=LOC COP
'Your house is in Samakushi'

e. *khwí=ki khàŋba yembur=la we*
he=GEN house kathmandu=LOC COP
'His house is in Kathmandu.'

The morpheme *nok* is an attributive, locative, and possessive copula. It has similar distribution to the copula *we*. The difference in the use of *we* versus *nok* is evidential-based, although the copula distinctions differ slightly from when these forms are used as evidentials. The distinctions between the two copulas are as follows: In attributive and locational contexts, if a speaker is relating something they have witnessed confirmation of, or information they have knowledge of through hearsay, they use *nok*. If they are talking about something that is general knowledge and about which they have no privileged

knowledge of, they use *we*. Woodbury (1986) suggests *we* is also used when a speaker wishes to be vague about what they know. This accounts for the fact that in many situations *we* and *nok* may be used interchangeably.

Attributive uses of *nok* are illustrated below:

(4.6) a. *ɲè=ki kat rhéndi nok*
I=GEN bed hard COP
'My bed is hard.'

b. *khó gála nok*
she happy COP
'She is happy.'

c. *nám òmbu nòk*
sky blue COP
'The sky is blue.'

d. *phúmpeza úŋbu.ríŋbu nòk*
girl high.long COP
'The girl is tall.'

Possessive uses of *nok* have the same structure as possessive uses of *we*. However *nok* is used only with third person possessives. In predications of possession the possessor occurs in the oblique and is marked with the dative casemarker.

(4.7) a. *kí=la ŋàma nok*
dog=DAT tail COP
'The dog has a tail.'

b. *khó=la cík ràŋ pèza nok*
She=DAT one only child COP
'She only has one child.'

c. *thì=la kápchu cík nok*
that=DAT lid one COP
'It has a lid.' (referring to a bottle)

Locational uses of *nok* have the same structures as those for *we* where the casemarker *=la* appears in the oblique case or a demonstrative is used. As with possessive structures, *nok* is used only for third person predications of location.

(4.8) a. *lúkla té nok*
sheepshed there COP
'The sheepshed is there.' (pointing to a photo of a house)

b. *yembur=la* *bàskap* *lhá-p* *dàsa* *ŋí* *nok*
kathmandu=LOC movie look-NOM place two COP
'Kathmandu has two cinemas.'

c. *dì* *khàŋba=la* *rhéndi* *nok*
this house=LOC ghosts COP
'This house has a ghost.'

d. *gókyo=la* *tsót* *màŋbu* *nok*
gokyo=DAT lake many COP
'Gokyo has many lakes.'

4.2.1 Inchoative adjectives

Inchoatives in Sherpa are used only when entrance into a state is being foregrounded in a sentence. For example, in sentence (4.9b), the verb *gàl* is used to highlight that the change from being thin to being fat is what is important in this sentence. I have labeled these as inchoative adjectives because the inchoative marker is only used with adjectives. It is not used when entering upon an action. For example, (4.9a) indicates a simple attributive clause with a copula, while (4.9b) utilizes the verb *gàl*. In this example *nok* functions as an evidential (see §4.5.3.3):

(4.9) a. *thì* *mì* *ti* *gyàmu* *nok*
that man PRT fat COP
'The man is fat.'

b. *thì* *mì* *ti* *gyàmu* *gàl* *nok*
that man PRT fat become PST.DISJ
'The man became fat.'

4.3 Simple and compound verbs

Verbs in Sherpa are of two types: simple and compound verbs. Simple verbs are formed from a simple root of CV, or CVC. The second morpheme in the examples below functions as a nominaliser and relativiser which occurs in the citation form of the verb.

(4.10)
kyé-p	'give birth'
lhá-p	'to look'
tsé-p	'to play'
nèn-dup	'to press'
láŋ-gup	'to rise'
púŋ-gup	'to pour out'
kìl-up	'to oppose'
púl-up	'to push'

Compound verbs are formed by combining a noun or adjective with a verb, for example:

(4.11) *rhéme tòŋ-gup* 'to dilute' (< weak drive-NOM)
dàlza khír-up 'to help' (< friend do-NOM)
tháma thúŋ-gup 'to smoke' (< cigarette drink-NOM)

4.4 Stem classes

There are three phonological stem classes of Sherpa verbs, demonstrated by phonotactic structure and morphophonemic behaviour. The first stem class is vowel-final verbs, which has the structure (C)V. Table 4.1 below illustrates the inflection of this class across person categories with the example of *lhá* 'to look'. The final morphemes *-ĩ, suŋ, nok, wi* are evidentials, not person markers (see §4.5.3).

Table 4.1: Inflection of CV Stems

Conjunct	*lhá- ĩ*
Disjunct	*lhá suŋ/nok*
Imperfective 1	*lhá-p/ lhá nok*
Imperfective 2	*lhá ki wi*

The second stem class is characterised by a stem-final liquid, either /r/ or /l/. The inflection of this class is illustrated in Table 4.2 below, with the example of *púlup* 'to push'. Note that the verb stems do not show any alternations.

Table 4.2: Inflection of CV + Liquid Stems

Conjunct	*púl- ĩ*
Disjunct	*púl suŋ/nok*
Imperfective 1	*púl -up/ lhá nok*
Imperfective 2	*púl ki wi*

The third stem class is characterised by a final nasal consonant, either /m/, /n/, or /ŋ/. As Table 4.3 illustrates with the example of *kòndup* 'to get dressed', again the stem shows no alternations when inflected with evidential morphology.

Table 4.3: Inflection of CV + Nasal Stems

Conjunct	*kòn- ĩ*
Disjunct	*kòn suŋ/nok*
Imperfective 1	*kòn -dup/ lhá nok*
Imperfective 2	*kòn ki wi*

Although the verb stem paradigm in Sherpa patterns neatly across each of the three classes, there are several quite complex phonological alternations which occur when the nominaliser, which functions like an infinitive in the citation forms of verbs, is suffixed to the verb. These alternations are discussed in more detail in §5.5 with regard to nominalisation, however they warrant some brief discussion here. The stem classes presented above occur on the basis of three consonant types: zero, liquid, nasal. Each of

these stem-final sounds determines the form that the following suffix will take. The nominaliser is *-(C)up~p*. The prototypical CV verb structure in Sherpa consists of a CV verb stem followed by a consonant with the same place of articulation. With CV stems, the form of the nominaliser depends on the vowel; *-tup* will surface following /u/, *-rup* following /i/, while /p/ surfaces following /a/ or /o/. For example:

(4.12) *ʧú-tup* 'to wash'
khí-rup 'to do'
ná-p 'to vomit'

With nasal-final stems, the initial C in the suffix is a stop which is homorganic to the final nasal of the stem. For example:

(4.13) *rám-bup* 'to burst'
kón-dup 'to wear'
ʧèn-dup 'to stretch'

Liquid-final stems are followed by *-up*. For example:

(4.14) *ʧhul-up* 'to rub'

There are two different approaches that can be taken in the analysis of the underlying form of the nominaliser. One, an insertion analysis, posits insertion rules, with *-up* as the underlying morpheme. Another, an assimilation hypothesis, posits deletion and assimilation rules, with /tup/ as the underlying morpheme. Neither of these analyses is particularly neat. The insertion hypothesis posits a rule where /up/ is the underlying morpheme, and a consonant is inserted before *-up* in the same place of articulation as the stem final consonant. For example:

(4.15) *tóŋ* 'drive!' (imperative)
tóŋ-g-up 'to drive'

In the above example the stem is *tóŋ* and the nominaliser is *-up*, and there is a /g/ inserted in the same place of articulation as the stem-final consonant.

The insertion hypothesis accounts for all verb types except the vowel-final verbs. There would need to be a further deletion rule which says that when the stem is vowel-final, delete the /u/. For example in (4.16) below the imperative form is *lhá* and without the deletion rule the nominalised form would be realised as *lhá-up*. The deletion rule is needed to account for vowel final verbs followed by *-p* nominalised forms. For example:

(4.16) *lhá* 'look!' (imperative)
lhá-p 'to look'

This sequence of rules is somewhat awkward. Now we turn to the second account to determine if it better captures the alternations.

The second possible account is the assimilation hypothesis, which posits a rule where /tup/ is the underlying morpheme. When the verb stem is consonant final, the /t/ onset assimilates to the place of articulation of the stem-final consonant. For example:

(4.17) *làŋ* 'get up!'
làŋ-tup → *làŋ-gup* 'to get up'

When the stem is vowel-final, *-tup* is the form of the nominaliser. When the stem ends with /a/ or /o/ the /tu/ is deleted and /t/→ /r/ after /i/.

(4.18) *ɖá-p* 'to run'
sá-p 'to eat'
nó-p 'to smell'
ŋó-p 'to cry'
phé-tup 'to spill'
gù-tup 'to spread'

This explanation is also not straightforward. However, it accounts for more of the data on the basis of assimilation rather than insertion or deletion explanations which are difficult processes to determine motivations for.

4.5 Finite verb inflection

The structure of the finite verb in Sherpa is: stem+aspect +evidential. In the following sections I discuss tense, aspect, and evidentiality which are part of the finite verb inflections in Sherpa.

4.5.1 Tense

Tense in Sherpa is not marked morphologically. The distinctions which I class as past/non-past are determined on the basis of an interaction between temporal adverbials which serve as analytic tense indicators (i.e. yesterday and tomorrow etc), aspect, and past/non-past evidentials (discussed in further detail in §4.5.3 below). For example, in (4.19 a, b) below the evidential *suŋ* is the past disjunct which is used in events the speaker has directly witnessed but has not actually experienced. The evidential *ĩ* is the past conjunct and is used with first person events that speakers have experienced or witnessed (discussed further in §4.5.4). For example:

(4.19) a. *khwí=ki* *chàŋ* *zó* *suŋ*
he=ERG beer make PST.DISJ
'He made beer.'

b. *ɲè=ki* *chàŋ* *zó -ĩ*
I=ERG beer make.PST.CONJ
'I made beer.'

Anything that was directly witnessed or directly experienced must necessarily have been in the past, so past tense may be inferred from the use of the evidentials *suŋ* and *ĩ* when they occur directly following the verb stem.

4.5.2 Aspect

There are two primary aspectual distinctions in Sherpa. These are perfective and imperfective. These distinctions are established on the basis of morphological marking in the verbal complex and on the basis of morphological marking of ergative case on all perfective A's and occasionally on second- and third-person imperfective A's.

4.5.2.1. Perfective and imperfective verb phrase marking

Perfective aspect

Perfective aspect is indicated by an unmarked verb stem directly followed by an evidential. For example:

(4.20) a. *ɲè=ki* *kúr* *gè -ĩ*
I=ERG bread make-PST.CONJ
'I made bread.'

b. *khòre* *kúr* *gyò-p* *nok*
you=ERG bread make-NOM PST.DISJ
'You made bread.'

c. *khwí=ki* *kúr* *gyò-p* *nok*
I=ERG bread make-NOM PST.DISJ
'She made bread.'

d. *ɖàŋ* *ŋà* *ŋú-ĩ*
yesterday I cry-PST.CONJ
'I cried yesterday.'

e. *ɖàŋ* *khyòroŋ* *ŋú-p* *suŋ*
yesterday you cry-NOM PST.DISJ
'You cried yesterday.'

f. *ɖàŋ* *khó* *ŋú-p* *suŋ*
yesterday he cry-NOM PST.DISJ
'He cried yesterday.'

Imperfective aspect

Imperfective aspect is indicated by a nominalised verb stem followed by an imperfective marker *ki*[1] which precedes the final evidential in both transitive and intransitive sentences, as in examples (4.21) below.

(4.21) a. *ŋà kúr gyò-p ki wi*
I bread make-NOM IMP EVID
'I will make bread (tomorrow).'

b. *khòryoŋ kúr gyò-p ki wi*
you bread make-NOM IMP EVID
'You will make bread (tomorrow).'

c. *khó kúr gyò-p ki wi*
she bread make-NOM IMP EVID
'She will make bread (tomorrow).'

d. *khó ŋílo-p ki wi*
she sleep-NOM IMP EVID
'She will sleep (tomorrow).'

The imperfective marker *=ki* and final evidential are occasionally omitted when there is an additional temporal adverb present. For example:

(4.22) a. *ŋà sála kúr gyò-p*
I tomorrow bread make-NOM
'I will make bread tomorrow.'

b. *sála ŋà ŋílo-p*
tomorrow I sleep-NOM
'I will sleep tomorrow.'

c. *khyóroŋ sála ŋílo-p*
you tomorrow sleep-NOM
'You will sleep tomorrow.'

d. *khó sála ŋílo-p*
you tomorrow sleep-NOM
'She will sleep tomorrow.'

It is also possible to use a combination of a temporal adverb and the *=ki* imperfective marker, as in (4.23) below:

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[1] The glossing of *ki* as an imperfective marker differs from earlier work of Givón (1980, 1982), Schöttelndreyer (1973), Schöttelndreyer and Schöttelndreyer (1973), and Woodbury (1986) who all glossed this *ki* morpheme broadly as an auxiliary. Although ergative marking appears to be obligatory with perfectives, more examples of past progessive and other non-perfective pasts are needed to determine how widespread the use of this casemarker is.

(4.23) *ŋà sála kúr gyò-p ki wi*
I tomorrow bread make-NOM IMP EVID
'I will make bread tomorrow.'

4.5.2.2. Further aspectual distinctions

Present progressive and habituals

Present progressive aspect and habitual aspect are simply marked as imperfective. Temporal indicators such as *now* and *everyday* are used for the finer aspectual distinctions when necessary. In (4.24) below I illustrate present progressive examples and then habitual distinctions across first, second and third person:

(4.24) a. *ŋà tànda kúr gyò-p ki wi*
I now bread make-NOM IMP EVID
'I am making bread right now.'

b. *ŋí mìtaŋ khyóroŋ=la dùŋ-gup ki wi*
I everyday you=DAT beat-NOM IMP EVID
'I beat you everyday.'

c. *tànda khyóroŋ kàruŋ ʧú-tup ki wi*
now you window wash-NOM IMP EVID
'You are washing the window now.'

d. *khyóroŋ ŋímitaŋ ŋà=la dùŋ-gup ki wi*
you everday I=DAT beat-NOM IMP EVID
'You beat me everyday.'

e. *sonam ŋúp-p ki wi*
sonam cry-NOM IMP EVID
'Sonam is crying (now).'

f. *mira ŋímitaŋ gòta ki wi*
Mira everyday laugh IMP EVID
'Mira laughs everyday.'

Past progressive

Past progressive sentences are indicated by a bare stem form followed by the *=ki* imperfective marker and either the *nok* or *wi* final evidential. The evidential *wi* is used only with first-person past progressives as in (4.25 a) and both *nok* and *wi* may be used with all other forms (see §4.5.3 for a discussion of the distribution of these evidentials). These forms are also used for past habitual structures which are distinguished by use of *ŋímitaŋ* 'everyday'. The past tense is established here by the use of the temporal adverbial. For example:

(4.25) a. *ɖáŋ ɲè=ki khó=la dùŋ ki wi*
yesterday I=ERG he=DAT beat PROG EVID
'I was beating him yesterday.'

ɖáŋ khwí=ki ŋà=la ɲècol ki nok
yesterday he=ERG I=DAT tease IMP PST.DISJ
'He was teasing me yesterday.'

c. *ŋímitaŋ khwí=ki ŋà=la ɲècol ki nok*
everyday he=ERG I=DAT tease IMP PST.DISJ
'He used to tease me everyday.'

e. *tseriŋ=ki áŋa=la sáma tér ki nok*
Tsering=ERG baby=DAT food give IMP PST.DISJ
'Tsering was feeding the baby.'

f. *tseriŋ=ki ŋímitaŋ áŋa=la sáma tér ki nok*
Tsering=ERG everyday baby=DAT food give IMP PST.DISJ
'Tsering always fed the baby.' (lit. Tsering fed the baby everyday)

Duratives

Duratives in Sherpa are marked by repetition of the action verb linked by clause chain morphology. This is illustrated below with a text example, and is discussed further in §5.8:

(4.26) a. *...sèbraŋ=ki tsàŋ thì=la kašera kétaŋ-ni kétaŋ ki nok*
...bee=GEN nest that=DAT much call-CC call IMP PST.DISJ
'...(the dog) was calling and calling to the bees' nest.'

b. *thàma gàwa taŋ gàma pàp khyà-ni ŋú-ni*
then old.man and old.woman sad do-CC cry-CC

ŋú-ni ŋú-ni dè phúmti kaŋ ma.lów yi nok
cry-CC cry-CC stay girl never NEG-return IMP PST.DISJ
'And then the old man and the old woman were sad and stayed and cried and cried and cried and the child was never to return.'

4.5.2.3 Ergative marking

Sherpa has a split ergative pattern of grammatical relations. In the imperfectives Sherpa exhibits a nominative/accusative type patterning where subjects of transitive clauses (A) are treated the same as subjects of intransitive clauses (S) and differently from objects of transitive clauses (O), which typically have the dative casemarker. In all perfectives and some imperfectives the S subject is treated the same way as the O of a transitive clause, with absolutive casemarking, and differently from the transitive A subject which is marked with the ergative casemarker.

Ergative casemarking in Sherpa is obligatory on A role participants of transitive perfectives. It is optional on transitive imperfectives occurring with second and third person A's, but never occurs in this environment with first person A's. Givón (1982) has

examined the distribution of ergative case marking in Sherpa texts and has suggested that the language is moving from being a split-ergative language to being reanalysed as a nominative language (1982:49). In my data I have some rare instances where I have elicited the same sentences and have ergative marking on one instance and absolutive marking on another. Each of these sentences have been past progressives (as in 4.25a), which are clearly past as they occur with analytic tense indicators and they also have the *=ki* imperfective/progressive marker.

All transitive perfective A-role participants, both animate (as in examples 4.27a-c) and inanimate (as in (4.27e)) have ergative case marking. For example:

(4.27) a. *ɲè=ki* *khóroŋ=la* *ɲècol-ĩ*
I=ERG you=DAT tease-PSTCONJ
'I teased you.'

b. *khóre* *áŋa=la* *sàm a bín* *suŋ*
you=ERG baby=DAT food feed PSTDISJ
'You fed the baby.'

c. *khwí=ki* *chàŋ* *dzò* *nok*
he=ERG beer make PST.DISJ
'He made beer.'

d. *trak=i* *thì* *jònda* *thì=ki* *kí* *thì* *lyép* *suŋ*
truck=ERG that boy that=GEN dog that smash PSTDISJ
'The truck ran over the boy's dog.' (lit. *the truck smashed the boy's dog*)

e. *báti*[2] *dì=ki* *cyòksi* *síkcì* *suŋ*
candle this=ERG table burn cause PSTDISJ
'The candle burned the table.'

In my data, perfective A role participants always have ergative casemarking. The data does not suppport Givón's assertion that Sherpa is moving to a nominative/accusative system.

4.5.3 Evidentials

Evidentials in Sherpa are rather complex and deserve considerable attention. In this section I lay out the evidential patterning and discuss some relevant issues with regard to the significant role evidentiality plays in the language. My insights are based in part on a previous analysis by Woodbury (1986) in which he outlines the evidential patterning and provides a detailed breakdown of evidential interactions across tense. However, my analysis goes beyond Woodbury's outline of the system.

The majority of evidentials in Sherpa are verbs which occur either directly after the lexical verb or following an aspectual marker which follows the main verb. Their morphological independence is attested to by their tonal behaviour. These morphemes

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[2] The noun *báti* 'light' is from the Nepali word *batti* with the same meaning. Unlike most other borrowed words *báti* has a defined tone in all environments. It is the only word I found used for 'candle' in Sherpa.

have unusual tonal behaviour in that tones seem to be in free variation here; the same speaker will use different tones on these morphemes in the same context. The only evidential which does not follow these patterns is *ĩ*, clearly related to the copula *yin*. When directly following verb stems, the form [yin] is never found. Instead, [ĩ] is found. This lacks an initial glide and has lost the final consonant, leaving its trace as nasalisation on the preceding vowel. None of my consultants related *ĩ* to the full form [yin]. When really pressed, Yangji occasionally gave me first-person examples with either the *ĩ* suffix or the *yin* copula, but she did not consider the two to be equivalent. Thus it is clear that *ĩ* has grammaticised into a bound morpheme independent of *yin*.

The evidentials in Sherpa are: *wi, nok, suŋ, ĩ*. Two evidentials, *suŋ* and *ĩ* are part of the conjunct/disjunct system of evidential marking. The environments in which they are used will be discussed in more detail with relation to conjunct/disjunct systems in §4.5.4.

In the following sections I discuss each of the evidentials in turn and then go on to discuss them with relation to conjunct/disjunct marking, in which the importance of the experiential value of the evidentials becomes more clear.

4.5.3.1 The evidential ĩ

The evidential *ĩ* is the first-person conjunct evidential. It occurs with first-person volitional actors in statements and second-person non-volitional actors in interrogatives (illustrated with relation to the conjunct/disjunct system in §4.5.4). It marks a volitionally instigated event as having been directly experienced by a speaker. For example:

(4.28) a. *ŋè=ki phèmi mùla tà ʧúti-ĩ*
I=ERG sand with wheat wash-PST.CONJ
'I cleaned the wheat with sand.'

b. *ŋè=ki cyòktsi khóla pèja jé-ĩ*
I=ERG table on book put-PST.CONJ
'I put the book on the table.'

c. *phúmpezatwa=la ŋì gòta khyà- ĩ*
child.PL=DAT 1PL laugh do- PST.CONJ
'We laughed at the children.'

4.5.3.2 The evidential suŋ

The evidential *suŋ* is the disjunct evidential. It is used in second, and third person declaratives to mark an event as having been directly witnessed by a speaker. It is used with first person actors only in interrogatives or explicitly to mark an event as being non-volitional (illustrated with relation to the conjunct/disjunct system in §4.5.4). For an event to have been directly witnessed it must have already occurred. All uses of *suŋ* are therefore in the past tense. For example:

(4.29) a. *khóre =ki ʤáŋ ŋì =la zìm suŋ*
you=ERG yesterday 1PL=DAT grab PST.DISJ
'You caught us yesterday.'

b. *khwí=ki goli kyúr suŋ*
she=ERG ball throw PST.DISJ
'She threw the ball.' (I saw)

c. *khwí =ki mómo sáp suŋ*
he=ERG food eat PST.DISJ
'He ate the momo.' (I saw)

4.5.3.3 The evidential nok

The evidential *nok* is used in both perfective and imperfective sentences and has different evidential status in each. In perfective sentences, *nok* occurs with second and third person actors and marks an event as having been inferred (either from hearsay or from inferential evidence), but not directly witnessed by a speaker. For example:

(4.30) a. *khyóroŋ=ki kàruŋ ʧú ki nok*
you=ERG window wash IMP PST.DISJ
'You washed the window.' (I infer)

khyóroŋ khyóroŋ=la chè nok
you=ERG you=DAT cut PST.DISJ
'You accidentally cut yourself.' (I infer)

c. *khwí=ki khó=la ŋóše nok*
he=ERG her=DAT know PST.DISJ
'He knew her.' (I heard/infer)

d. *mí=ki pèza=la ti ló nok*
man=ERG child=DAT PRT teach PST.DISJ
'The man taught the child.' (I heard/infer)

In imperfective sentences the distribution of *nok* is similar to the evidential *we*. It is used across persons, although with first person it is only used with currently occurring experiences, as in (4.31a,b) below. Imperfective uses of *nok* indicate that the speaker is relating a currently occurring event (4.31c,d) or a past witnessed event as illustrated in (4.31e,f) where the speaker is narrating a story from a wordless picture book. For example:

(4.31) a. *ŋà lhúa láŋ ki nok*
I hungry feel IMP PST.DISJ
'I feel hungry.'

b. *ɲè gò ná ki nok*
I=GEN head sick IMP PST.DISJ
'My head is aching.'

c. *tseriŋ=ki* *áŋa=la* *sáma* *tér* *ki* *nok*
Tsering=ERG baby=DAT food give IMP PST.DISJ
'Tsering is feeding the baby.'

d. *chàram* *ší* *ki* *nok*
ice melt IMP PST.DISJ
'The ice is melting .'

e. *thé* *kasha* *kètoŋgu* *ki* *nok*
there loudly call IMP PST.DISJ
'(The boy) was calling loudly there.'

f. *thama* *kí* *taŋ* *jònda* *thì* *múla* *ŋílo* *yi* *nok*
and dog and boy that with sleep IMP PST.DISJ
'And the dog was sleeping with the boy.'

The evidential *nok* can also be used for events that have not yet occurred but which the speaker strongly believes will occur. In the following example either *we* or *nok* could be used. In this example the speaker is lamenting young Sherpa people's lack of knowledge regarding Sherpa language and culture. The use of *nok* here indicates that the speaker has as much faith in what will happen as if they had seen it already. For example:

(4.32) *kháŋ* *khí-rup* *kháŋ* *me-khí-rup* *thùku* *ma-lepsi*
what do-NOM what NEG-do-NOM because NEG-teach

thama *jùk=la* *kàle* *kyá-p* *ki* *nok*
then future=LOC difficult do-NOM IMP PST.DISJ
'What to do, what not to do because not teaching (Sherpa customs) will make the future difficult.'

Recall that *nok* functions not only as an evidential, but also as a copula. The copula and evidential functions of *nok* in Sherpa are clearly linked, however, due to a difference in use across aspect they do not entirely overlap. In its copula functions *nok* is used with attributives and with third person possessives and locationals. If a speaker is relating something they have witnessed in the past or information they have knowledge of through hearsay they use *nok*. In its evidential function *nok* is used in perfective sentences to mark an event as having been inferred (either from hearsay or from inferential evidence), but not directly witnessed by a speaker. Use of *nok* with imperfectives indicates that the speaker is relating a currently occurring event or a past witnessed event. Thus in all copula uses in which *nok* appears, it has a different evidential function from the use of *nok* in non-copula sentences.

4.5.3.4 The evidential wi

The evidential *wi* occurs only in combination with the *ki* imperfective marker. It is used to express the accepted idea of the way something happened (as in 4.33a,b) and the way things are likely to happen (as in 4.33c,d) (without the strength of commitment to a proposition marked by *nok*). Examples (4.33a,b) are text examples from well known

Sherpa stories. The speaker uses *wi* to indicate that this is the accepted way events happened in the story.

(4.33) a. *ŋíŋ=la ŋíma taŋ úkla=la sèmjen cík=ki sá ki wi*
day sun and moon=DAT animal one=ERG eat IMP EVID
'On that day an animal was eating the sun and moon.' (eclipse day)

b. *cànduŋ kyáp sìma pemba=le yaŋji=la lù ki wi*
party do after Pemba=ERG Yangji=DAT return IMP EVID
'After the party Pemba returns to Yaŋji.'

c. *ŋá sála lé-p ki wi*
I tomorrow arrive-NOM IMP EVID
'I will arrive tomorrow.'

d. *ŋíma šár-ni càram ší ki wi*
sun shine-CC ice melt IMP EVID
'(If) the sun shines the ice will melt.'

The experiential versus inference, and perfective versus imperfective distinctions are only part of the information conveyed by these evidentials. Evidentials in Sherpa also pattern in a conjunct/disjunct system. In the following section I discuss the role of some of these evidentials in the conjunct/disjunct system of Sherpa.

4.5.4 The conjunct/disjunct system

The terms *conjunct* and *disjunct* were originally proposed by Hale (1980) for describing the evidential system in Kathmandu Newar. In particular, these terms were introduced to describe the use of co-referentiality in reported speech. They were originally cited as marking coreference in complex sentences of quotative clauses. For example:

(4.34) a. *khó ɖàŋ patan=la gàl-ĩ sí-ni khwí=k i sí*
he y.day Patan=LOC go-PST.CONJ say-CC she=ERG say
nok
PST.DISJ
'He$_i$ said he$_i$ went to Patan yesterday.'

b. *khó ɖàŋ patan=la gal suŋ sí-ni khwí=ki sí*
he y.day Patan=LOC go PST.DISJ say-CC she=ERG say
nok
PST.DISJ
'He$_i$ said he$_j$ went to Patan yesterday.'

The conjunct form *ĩ* is used on the embedded verb in (4.34a) and indicates that the actor of the main verb 'say' and the embedded verb 'go' is the same person. It is the person who went to Patan that is reporting on it. In (4.34b) the disjunct form *suŋ* is used because the

speaker is not co-referential with the actor in the embedded clause. In this example, the person who went to Patan does not report it, but another person does.

In addition to this distribution of conjunct/disjunct forms in complex syntactic constructions, the distinctions in the use of the forms are found in interrogatives and declaratives. In the example in (4.35) below, we can see that the conjunct form occurs with first-person actors in main clause statements and second-person actors in interrogatives. The disjunct occurs with second- and third-person actors in declaratives and first-person actors in interrogatives.

(4.35) a. *ŋà* *lhú-ĩ*
I fall-PST.CONJ
'I fell.'

b. *ŋà* *lhúm* *suŋ*
I fall PST.DISJ
'Did I fall?'

c. *khóruŋ* *lhúm* *suŋ*
you fall PST.DISJ
'You fell.'

d. *khóruŋ* *lhú-ĩ*
you fall-PST.CONJ
'Did you fall?'

e. *khó* *lhúm* *suŋ*
she fall PST.DISJ
'She fell.'

f. *khó* *lhúm* *suŋ*
she fall PST.DISJ
'Did she fall?'

There are two principles which appear to underlie the uses of the conjunct/disjunct system in Sherpa. These are: *volitionality* and *knowledge source.* In the following sections I turn to the relation between these parameters and the use of the conjunct/disjunct evidential forms.

4.5.4.1 Volitionality

The Sherpa conjunct/disjunct system may be used to express the volitionality or non-volitionality of an agent. In several Tibetan dialects, such as Lhasa Tibetan (DeLancey 1994), the volitionality of an agent in an event is reflected by the choice of evidential. In Sherpa, the status of volitionality is different from these languages. In Sherpa, it is possible to get the same evidential in both a volitional and a non-volitional reporting of the same event situation, as illustrated in (4.36) below. In this instance the volitionality is not marked by the use of the evidential but by a change in the verb stem, with the unaspirated

stem marking volitional action, and the aspirated stem marking non-volitional action. For example:

(4.36) a. *ɲè=ki káp cák-ĩ*
I=ERG cup break-PST.CONJ
'I broke the cup.' (intentionally)

b. *ɲè=ki káp chák-ĩ*
I=ERG cup break-PST.CONJ
'I broke the cup.' (accidentally)

If a speaker especially wants to emphasise that an action was non-volitional they can use the disjunct evidential *suŋ* in order to highlight their lack of volitionality in an action. For example *suŋ* can be used by a first-person actor in combination with an aspirated stem, as in (4.37a), but not with an unaspirated stem, as illustrated in (4.37b).

(4.37) a. *ɲè=ki káp chák suŋ*
I=ERG cup break PST.DISJ
'I broke the cup.' (accidentally)

b. **ɲè=ki káp cák suŋ*
I=ERG cup break PST.DISJ
'I broke the cup.'

This stem alternation for volitional versus non-volitional actions and events indicates that volitionality is not encoded only in the evidential. Some volitional verbs in Sherpa cannot occur with non-volitional evidentials. An example of this can be seen when one compares the Sherpa verbs *ʧhòŋ* 'see' and *lhá* 'look'. In example (4.38a) the event is not volitional and so the use of the conjunct form *yin* is not acceptable. In (4.38b) the actor volitionally saw, or 'looked' (to exploit the English distinction) and in accordance with this volitional action the conjunct form is used.

(4.38) a. *ŋà ʧhòŋ suŋ* (* -ĩ)
I see DISJ
'I saw.' (unintentional)

b. *ŋà lhá-ĩ*
I see-PST.CONJ
'I looked.' (intentional)

These volitional/non-volitional verb pairs constitute a patterning similar to one described by Beyer (1992) for Classical Tibetan, whereby volitional and non-volitional verb stems are differentiated through voicing contrasts and aspiration. There are simple aspirated/non-aspirated and voiced/voiceless distinctions, whereby the aspirated and voiceless forms are non-volitional and the non-aspirated and voiced forms are volitional. For example:

(4.39) a. Aspiration contrast
pé 'to pour out' (volitional)
phé 'to spill' (non-volitional)
cè 'to cut' (volitional)
chè 'to cut' (non-volitional)

b. Voice contrast
bàr 'to set something alight' (volitional)
pàr 'spontaneous combustion; non-agentive lighting' (non-volitional)
ɖòl 'to unfasten' (volitional)
ʈòl 'to unfasten' (non-volitional)

The features indicating volitionality in Sherpa appear to be the opposite of those described by Beyer for Classical Tibetan. However, these differences are likely to be due to phonological changes that resulted from loss of complex consonant clusters (Benedict 1972:105, Matisoff 1976:415), and the development of the modern tonal system. This is an area that needs careful historical research and is beyond the scope of the present work.

4.5.4.2 Knowledge source

Evidentials are used in Sherpa utterances as a means of indicating the source of a speaker's knowledge. The types of distinctions found include differentiations on the basis of whether a speaker has first-hand sensory knowledge of an event, whether the event being reported is based on experience, hearsay or on inference, or whether it is a general fact. These distinctions regarding source of knowledge are what I refer to when I use the term *knowledge source*. In Sherpa, knowledge source is crucial to an understanding of the underlying use of the conjunct/disjunct system. The conjunct form is used with first-person volitional actors. In accordance with conjunct/disjunct patterning it is also used with second-person interrogatives. In order for an act of volition to take place, the actor must have first-hand knowledge of the event. I have shown a relation between the conjunct form and a volitional actor in first-person declaratives. Given that a volitional actor must also have knowledge of an event, it follows that there is a relation between the conjunct form and knowledge status.

In second person interrogatives, where volitionality cannot be presupposed, we always get conjunct marking regardless of whether the addressee is being asked about a volitional event such as dancing, or a non-volitional event such as being ill. The factor that appears to trigger the conjunct marking in these instances is that the source of knowledge regarding the event is first hand. The bases of knowledge source and volitionality appear to interact in providing a motivation underlying the patterning of conjunct and disjunct in Sherpa.

4.6 Mood

4.6.1 Imperatives and prohibitives

Imperatives in Sherpa do not vary across person or number. The imperative form of the verb consists of the bare stem, either honourific or non-honourific. Typically the use of an imperative occurs with a marked falling intonation. It is not usual to order someone to do something, even a child; however each of my consultants reported that the use of

honourifics is declining and that it is not unusual for a non-honourific imperative form to be used, especially in the case where the honourific is lexically distinct from the non-honourific form. For example, the non-honourific word for the imperative 'come!' is *šók*, but the honourific form is *phép*. Both of these may be used with the optional *=la* honourific marker on the pronoun or lexical noun denoting the addressee (when this is realised as a noun phrase or pronoun rather then a zero). The imperative verbs presented in (4.40) below are non-honourific forms. These are given along with the prohibitive forms for each verb.

(4.40)

	IMPERATIVE	PROHIBITIVE
a. 'sit!'	*dè*	*ma-dè*
b. 'sing!'	*ló*	*ma-láŋ*
c. 'look!'	*lhó*	*ma-lhó*
d. 'eat!'	*só*	*ma-sá*
e. 'run!'	*ɖó*	*ma-ɖo*
f. 'come!'	*sók*	*ma-sók*

There is no distinction in the verb between singular and plural in use of imperatives and prohibitives. For example:

(4.41)

dè	you sit! (sing)
khíraŋ dè	everyone sit! (pl)

4.6.2 Hortatives

Hortatives in Sherpa are marked by *ki* or *di*. There are no apparent motivations for the alternation. However it appears that the two are not interchangeable. There was consistency across all of my consultants regarding which hortative occurs in each utterance. In all of the examples given below which are taken from elicited sentences, the two consultants questioned said that the use of a hortative is optional. However, if a hortative is used it must not be the hortative given in brackets below.

(4.42) a. *phíla* *dè* *ki* (**di*)
outside sit HORT
'Let's sit outside.'

b. *chá* *thúŋgu* *ki* (**di*)
tea drink HORT
'Let's drink tea.'

c. *sám* *sé* *ki* (**di*)
food eat HORT
'Let's eat.'

d. *ŋílo* *di* (**ki*)
sleep HORT
'Let's go to sleep.'

4.7 Causatives

The causative morpheme in Sherpa is *cì*. The causative morpheme is positioned after the verb stem before the evidential. I analyse *cì* as an independent word in Sherpa as it always carries a low tone which is consistent across different environments. For example, in (4.43) below it follows 'melt' which carries a high tone, but the low tone of *cì* remains consistent. Examples of the causative morpheme are presented below:

(4.43) a. *ŋíma khá ší cì suŋ*
sun snow melt CAUS PST
'The sun made the snow melt.'

b. *phúmpeza thi=ki thi pèza thi=la ŋú cì suŋ*
girl that=GEN that boy her=to cry CAUS PST.DISJ
'The girl made the boy cry.'

4.7.1 Optatives

Optatives in Sherpa are formed by using the causative marker *cì*. They translate as 'let' in English. Essentially these are imperative causatives with the bare stem of the verb followed by the causative marker and with no final evidentials. For example:

(4.44) a. *khó tsé cì*
he play CAUS
'Let him play.'

b. *khó phíla dò cì*
outside go go CAUS
'Let him go outside.'

c. *kí phíl dò cì*
dog outside go CAUS
'Let the dogs go outside.'

4.8 Negation

Negation in Sherpa is formed by use of a negative prefix which has the form *ma-*, where V occasionally undergoes vowel harmony according to the initial vowel of the inflected verb that follows the negative morpheme. Negation occurs immediately preceding the verb which is being negated. When the main verb is a copula it is this which is negated, as in (4.45a,b) below, which shows the suppletive negative of the copula *we*. When the main verb is a lexical verb it is the lexical verb which carries the negation, not the evidential. For example:

(4.45) a. *ŋà=la pèza me* (< *ma-we*)
I=DAT child NEG
'I have no children.'

b. *khó=la* *khyówa* *me* (<*ma-we*)
she=DAT husband NEG
'She doesn't have a husband.'

c. *ɲè=ki* *šá* *ma- sé-ĩ̃*
I=GEN meat NEG-eat-PST.CONJ
'I do not eat meat.' (lit. 'My meat eating is not')

d. *pèza lú* *ma-láŋ* *nok*
boy song NEG-sing PST.DISJ
'The boy is not singing.'

Note that the evidential and copula *nok* in Sherpa has a similar distribution to the evidential 'ɖuk' in some other dialects of Tibetan (Volkart 2000). It appears to be closely aligned with uses of 'ɖuk' in Jirel reported by Strahm and Maibaum (1999), and is similar to other Tibetan dialects, including Lhomi (Vesálainen and Vesálainen 1980), Central Tibetan (De Lancey 1990, 1994), Dòkpa Tibetan (Kelly 1999). It is used as a copula in attributive and possessive constructions and also functions as an evidential which marks information in the perfective aspect as being not directly witnessed by the speaker.

This fact becomes relevant when we consider the interesting alteration of form in negative constructions when the proposition occurs with the evidential *nok* in the affirmative. The word for 'not' in Sherpa is *min* (< *ma* + *yin*). When a proposition which would typically end in the copula or evidential *nok* is negated, we would expect a combination of *min* + *nok*. However, this negated copula is realised as *minɖuk*. For example, in (4.46) below, *nok* is the evidential in the non-negated sentence, and in the negated pair the evidential is *ɖuk*, with the negative morpheme prefix.

(4.46) a. *ŋà=la* *tàŋa* *nok*
I=DAT money COP
'I have money.'

b. *ŋà=la* *tàŋa* *min-ɖuk*
I=DAT money NEG-COP
'I have no money.'

It is not clear why the negated form is *ɖuk* in such sentences. One possible explanation is that the negation is actually a negation of the first person witnessed evidential *yin*, with *ma* + *yin* yielding *min*, and *ɖuk* being some kind of further evidential, or perhaps a mirative marker. Evidence against such an analysis includes the use of *minɖuk* in sentences where the speaker is answering a question, thus ruling out a mirative reading because there is no discovery of new information for speaker B, as seen below:

(4.47) Speaker A: *dè* *mè* *thi* *thák.riŋbu* *nok*
here from it far.long COP
'Is it far from here?'

Speaker B: *thamel mè samakhuši thák.ríŋbu raŋ min-ɖuk*
thamel from samakhuši far.long only NEG-COP
'From Thamel to Samakhushi is not far.'

It seems likely that *nok* is a relatively new form in Sherpa, replacing *ɖuk* in other contexts, but that it has not penetrated into the grammar far enough to replace the inflected and possibly lexicalised *minɖuk*.

5 *Clause and sentence structure*

5.1 Clause structure

This chapter examines the structure of clauses and sentences in Sherpa. Throughout this chapter a clause is defined as a syntactic unit containing a verb and its arguments and adjuncts. A sentence is defined as a clause or multiple clauses ending in a finite verb. In §5.2 I discuss Sherpa clause-level word order before going on to outline clause combining strategies in the remainder of the chapter. I describe each clause combining strategy in turn, beginning with adverbial clauses in §5.3, followed by nominalisations in §5.4, and complements and relativisations in §5.5 and §5.6 respectively. I then outline Sherpa clause-chaining strategies in §5.7.

5.2 Word order

Sherpa may be classified as a verb-final language, with the subject typically preceding the object. Although it is possible in elicited sentences to transpose the positions of subject and object with relation to the verb, in text and discourse data, as in (5.1) below taken from a narrative, the subject is generally the initial argument in an utterance (here it is *úlduk* 'owl', and is followed by the object *jónda* 'boy').

(5.1) *thàma thì úlduk=ki thì jónda=la šúr ki nok*
and that owl=ERG that boy=DAT chase IMP PST.DISJ
'And the owl was chasing the boy.'

The subject argument is regularly unexpressed in texts and connected discourse when the referent has been introduced at an earlier stage, as in the narrative example in (5.2) below where the possible subject *cík peza* 'one child' is unexpressed.

(5.2) *sí sínaŋ cík lù gi nok*
die although one remain IMP PST.DISJ
'Although one child dies one remains.'

The object argument is typically realised. However it is occasionally unexpressed when the referent has been recently introduced or is well established in the preceding stretch of speech, as in (5.3) below. In this example, the unexpressed argument *rá* 'cotton' is introduced in the preceding discourse of the narrative and is unexpressed as the object argument of *thá* 'tie'.

(5.3) *thì khòla chú lúk síma rà=ki lúk síma lyémo thá...*
that over water pour after cotton=GEN pour after well tie
'After pouring the water over that, after pouring (on the cotton), tie the cotton well...'

5.3 Adverbial clauses

5.3.1 Temporal markers of adverbial subordination

There are four markers of adverbial subordination used in Sherpa to mark a temporal relation between two clauses. One of these, *sìma* is glossed as 'after'. It is used regularly in texts when a speaker is recapitulating an action. Typically *sìma* occurs at the end of an intonation contour, where it is separated from the rest of the sentence by a pause and a pitch reset on the immediately following word. The following examples are taken from an expository text explaining how to prepare dried meat (5.4a), a narrative about a boy trying to find his missing pet frog (5.4b), and a narrative about a marriage proposal (5.4c).

(5.4) a. *šá thì nárak kyá-p*
meat that strip do-NOM

šá thì nárak kyá-p sìma thì=la tsá lúk
meat that strip do-NOM after that=LOC salt put
'Cut the meat into strips. After cutting the meat into strips put salt on it.'

b. *thène kàruŋ náŋla me kí mà lhúm-bup ki*
then window inside from dog down drop-NOM IMP

nok lhúm sìma thì batta thì dákcha...
PST.DISJ drop after that jar that smash
'Then from inside the window the dog falls down. After falling the jar smashed...'

c. *cháŋdu kyà-p sìma pemba=ki yaŋji=la*
party do-NOM after pemba=ERG yaŋji=DAT

lù ki wi
persuade IMP EVID
'After the party Pemba persuaded Yaŋji.'

The remaining three temporal markers of adverbial subordination express similar relations. These are *pàla* and *bela*[1] which can be glossed as 'at that time', and *nàm* which was consistently glossed as 'when' or 'while', but never 'at that time'. I have been unable to determine the distinctions (if any), being made here. Each of the temporal markers of adverbial subordination express similar relations and all of them can occur either in clause-

[1] *Pala* and *bela* are used interchangeably. In elicited sentences they are used with similar frequency, however in narratives *bela* is used almost exclusively. This may be due to the fact that *bela* is a borrowing from Nepali and the narratives with the highest uses are those of young speakers for whom Nepali is the language of daily interaction at school. In contrast, Schöttelndreyer's (1973:54) narratives show *pala* as the form most often used.

initial and clause-final positions (see below). These are used for marking a relation between clauses when they are not necessarily related and have different subjects but the actions are simultaneous, as in (5.5) below:

(5.5) a. *bela* *thì* *jónda* *kúr* *sa-p* *thì* *mí* *ʧhòŋ*
at.the.time that boy bread eat-NOM that man see
nok
PST.DISJ
'When the boy ate the bread the man saw.'

b. *khyóraŋ* *ŋà* *ʧhòŋ-gup* *pàla* *ŋà* *sá* *we*
you (ERG) I see-NOM at.the.time I eat COP
'When you saw me I was eating.'

They are also used when actions may be related but have different subjects with simultaneous or sequential action, as in (5.6):

(5.6) a. *nàm* *úrtu* *gyà-p* *šómak* *lhúm* *ki* *wi*
when wind blow-NOM leaf fall IMP EVID
'When the wind is blowing leaves are falling.'

b. *úrtu* *gyà-p* *nàm* *šómak* *lhúm* *ki* *wi*
wind blow-NOM when leaf drop IMP EVID
'When the wind is blowing leaves are falling.'

Finally, they can be used when referring to joint actions occurring simultaneously by the same actor as in (5.7) below.

(5.7) *khó* *lú* *láŋgu* *bèla* *chóm* *ki* *nok*
she song sing at.the.time dance IMP PST.DISJ
'While she sang she danced.'

In examples such as given above the temporal markers of adverbial subordination can occur as the initial element in the sentence. However when we compare sentences (5.6a) with (5.6b) we can see that the subordinator *nàm* occurs in different positions. This is also the case with (5.5a) and (5.7). The positioning in sentences (5.5a) and (5.6a) appears to reflect the structure found in English, which is in contrast to the uses of *bela* and *nàm* in (5.5b) and (5.7). Both (5.6a) and (b) were given to me as acceptable constructions in Sherpa. From these sentences then, it appears that Sherpa has pre-posed clause-initial subordinators. However, when we look at text uses we find support for an analysis of Sherpa primarily having clause-final subordinators. In the running speech of narratives we find that *bela*, like *sìma*, occurs within the same intonation contour as the preceding stretch of speech, and at the end of the word there is a drop in pitch and an intake of breath followed by a pitch reset at the beginning of the next word. On the basis of this evidence it appears that the clause-final position is the preferred location for adverbial subordinators, however we can deduce also that clause-initial subordinators may occur, given that both

(5.5 a) and (5.6 a) were acceptable sentences, which do not appear to be direct translations of English.

5.3.2 Simultaneous and sequential adverbs

As mentioned in §5.3.1, distinguishing between actions that are simultaneous and those that are sequential can be difficult in Sherpa unless they are explicitly marked with a temporal subordinator distinguishing actions across clauses. In §5.7 I discuss the morpheme *-ni* which I gloss as a clause chain marker. In other work that has looked at Sherpa, this morpheme has been glossed as a simultaneous marker (Schöttelndreyer 1973) and a conjunctive ligature (Thompson 1976). When there is no temporal subordinator such as 'while', 'after', or 'before' to distinguish between simultaneous and sequential action it is sometimes difficult to tell whether the actions occur together. Throughout my database of texts and elicited sentences, I have examined when adverbials and clause chains are used, in order to determine what the uses can tell us about the marking of temporality of events. The clause chain suffix *-ni* may be used to indicate events with temporal overlap. However these uses are not typical. The more common use is to indicate sequential action, not simultaneous.

Sequential and simultaneous actions are illustrated in example (5.8) below, which indicates two consecutive sentences taken from a narrative based on a picture book about a lost frog. In (5.8) there is sequential action where the two verbs 'take' and 'go' are used to express two sequential actions within the one event. The boy first took the frog from within a group of other frogs where it was sitting, and then moved to leave with it. These two events occur across different pictures on different pages of the book, and are separate actions.

(5.8) *khore* *bàlwa* *thì* *tí-ni* *gàl-up* *yi* *nok.*
he=GEN frog that take-CC go-NOM IMP PST.DISJ
'(He) was taking his frog and was going.'

In (5.9) below, we find supporting evidence that the actions of 'taking' and 'going' are two separate sequential actions. In this sentence, the recapitulation of the previous event uses the temporal subordinator *sìma*, and mentions the action of taking the frog, but not the action of going.

(5.9) *khore=ki* *bàlwa* *tí-ni* *sìma* *tí-ni* *bàlwa*
he=ERG frog take-CC after take-CC frog
yembatwa=la *'bai bai'* *si-ni* *gal* *nok*
other.PL=GEN bye bye say-NOM go PST.DISJ
'After taking the frog he said goodbye and left.'

The actions of 'taking' and 'going' in the above example are clearly separate actions occurring within the one event.

5.3.3 Location adverbs

Location adverbial clauses in Sherpa are relative clauses that are expressed with a head noun *dàsa* 'place'. The etymology of this location marker is discussed in §5.6 with

relation to relative clauses. In expressing location here, these locational adverbials are not actually occurring in adverbial clauses in that they do not occur with a full verb followed by an adverbial form. The adverbial is a noun phrase with a relative clause embedded in it. Use of *dàsa* to express location is illustrated in (5.10) below:

(5.10) *ŋà khyóraŋ=la chórten wót-u dàsa=la ʧhétu ki wi*
I you=DAT stupa have-NOM place=LOC meet IMP EVID
'I'll meet you where the stupa is.'

It is possible to express this using a simple locative as in (5.11) below, however this construction gives rise to a slightly different meaning, and the example in (5.10) above is considered a more usual way to specify a location rather than an entity at that location. In (5.11) below the important thing being emphasised is not the location, i.e. the meeting place, but the thing that is at the meeting place, i.e. the stupa.

(5.11) *ŋà khyóraŋ=la chórten=la ʧhétu ki wi*
I you=DAT stupa=LOC meet IMP EVID
'I'll meet you at the stupa.'

The name for any location is always marked by the noun *dàsa*. Many locations are expressed periphrastically with this structure, and some of these are quite common, even lexicalised. For example, to express the location of something within a house, the specification of which room this thing is in is always similar to that given below in an elicited sentence (5.12a) and an expository text (5.12b).

(5.12) a. *áci sàma sá-p dàsa =la nok*
older sister food eat-NOM place=LOC PST.DISJ
'Older sister is in the kitchen.'

b. *dè sèrw=i tàmʤe ló-p dàsa anti=ki*
here Sherpa=GEN language teach-NOM place aunty=GEN
khàŋba lé-p suŋ
house arrive-NOM PST.DISJ
'I reached here the Sherpa language teaching place; aunty's house.'

5.3.4 Manner adverbs

Manner clauses in Sherpa may be expressed using a subordinator such as *dòre* 'like'. For example:

(5.13) *khwí=ki khé nàŋla mitai wót-up dòre támʤe*
she=GEN mouth=GEN inside candy have-NOM like language
ló i nok
talk IMP PST.DISJ
'She talks like she has candy in her mouth.'

A creative way of expressing manner is illustrated in (5.14) below which is not a clausal example, but is a typical means of expressing manner. Here, the ablative marker heads a prepositional phrase highlighting the location of where the talk comes from (the nose), giving the literal meaning 'She talks from inside the nose' which relates to the original elicitation sentence I requested, which was: 'She talks like she has a cold'.

(5.14) *khwí=ki nòw nàŋla mè támŋe ló ki nok*
she=GEN nose inside from language talk IMP PST.DISJ
'She talks like her nose is blocked.' (lit. 'from inside the nose')

5.3.5 Concessives

Concessives in Sherpa are formed by the use of the concessive subordinator *sìnaŋ* 'although'. The majority of examples in my database are from texts. I found it difficult to obtain concessives in elicitation, with the example given in (5.15a) below being one of the few elicited examples. The example in (5.15b) is from a narrative.

(5.15) a. *samakuši=la tshòru wó-tup sínaŋ dì kangba*
samakushi=DAT dirty have-NOM although this house

tsèŋge nok
clean PST.DISJ
'Although Samakhushi is dirty, this house is clean.'

b. *thama gàwa thì =ki "thape=la*[2] *òroŋ áŋa súm*
and.then old man that=ERG now=ABL we baby three

keko ki nok
born IMP PST.DISJ

cík tí-ni gàl sínaŋ ŋí lú ki
one take-CC go although two remain IMP

nok ší sìnaŋ cík lú ki nok"
PST.DISJ die although one remain IMP PST.DISJ

sí kyà yìn, lò
say do PST.CONJ PRT
'Then the old man said: "From now on we will have three babies. Although one is taken two remain. Although one dies one remains"; it is said.'

5.3.6 Conditionals

To form conditionals in Sherpa a subordinating morpheme *-si* is suffixed to the main verb of the protasis. Conditionals in Sherpa have only a single conditional subordinator and do not employ a subordinator in the apodosis.

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[2] This is the only attested use of *=la* as an ablative. Ablative case is typically marked by use of *me* or *sur*, however the use of *=la* here appears to be functioning as a temporal locative, as in 'from this point on'.

(5.16) a. *khó wa-si ŋà ɖó ki yin*
he come-if I go IMP CONJ
'If he comes I will go.'

b. *càrwa kyà-p-si ŋà bò ki wi*
rain do-NOM-if I wet IMP EVID
'If it is raining I will be wet.'

c. *múkpa tsú-p-si námɖul maŋ-bi nok*
cloud coming-NOM-if sky.wheel not-IMP PST.DISJ
'If it is clouding over there will be no planes.'

5.4 Nominalisation

Nominalised complements are predications which constitute noun phrases. In Sherpa the predicate becomes nominalised by the addition of a nominalising suffix. The nominaliser in this language differs from the *-pa* nominaliser found in many Bodic languages. In Sherpa, there is one nominaliser which has a number of different allomorphs. I will represent it as *(C)-u~-up* (or when the stem is vowel final, *-p*). As discussed in §4.4, the allomorphs of the nominaliser have the following phonologically motivated distribution:

(5.17)

-p	when the preceding verb stem is /a/ final, as in *lhá-p* 'to see'
-tup~-up	when the preceding verb stem ends in /u/, /o/, /e/ final as in *phú-tup* 'to blow', *wó-tup* – 'to have', *lé-tup* – 'to chew'
-gup	when the preceding verb stem ends in a velar-nasal final, as in *láŋ-gup* 'to sing'
-yup	when the preceding verb stem ends in a oral-velar stop, as in *šek-yup* 'to know'
-bup	when the preceding verb stem ends in a bilabial nasal final, as in *cham-bup* 'to dance'

The Sherpa nominalisers in (5.17) differ only on the basis of phonological motivations. They share the same range of nominalising functions, including naming of activities and states, marking of purpose clauses, and marking of agent nominals before the evidential *nok*. These will be discussed in the following sections. The nominaliser is also used for complementation and relativisation, which are discussed in (5.18 a) and (5.18 b) below. The nominaliser is used as follows:

Naming of activities or states

(5.18) a. *tháma* *thúŋ-gup* *lému* *min*
cigarette drink-NOM good NEG.EVID
'Smoking is not good.'[3]

b. *lú* *láŋ-gup* *thì* *ɸhókyak* *yin*
song sing-NOM that fun COP
'To sing is fun.'

When I elicited sentences such as [___ is good] and [It is good to ___] all instances of elicitation prompted sentences where the blank was filled with Verb*(C)-u~-up*.

Agent nominals

(5.19) a. *pasaŋ* *zék-up* *lému* *nok*
pasaŋ climb-NOM good COP
'Pasang is a good climber.'

b. *khó* *már* *kú-tup* *nok*
he butter spread-NOM COP
'He is a flatterer.' (lit. he is a butter spreader)

Purpose clauses

(5.20) a. *khó* *kúr* *ŋó-p* *gàl* *suŋ*
he bread buy-NOM go DISJ
'He went to buy bread.'

b. *ŋà* *šèrw-i* *lápše* *lú-p* *ho* *suŋ*
I sherpa=ERG language learn-NOM come DISJ
'I came to study Sherpa.'

c. *màni* *ròŋ-gup* *gàl* *ki* *wi*
prayer pray-NOM go IMP EVID
'(He) went to pray.'

Nominalisation preceding 'nok'

The nominalisation of the verbs in the examples below is the same as in (5.20b) above, except in the examples below, the nominalised form occurs before *nok*, which is serving an evidential function rather than a copula function, as verbs in this position typically require nominalisation.

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[3] This was one of several sentences provided in response to the Nepali prompt: *curot khāna hundaina* 'one shouldn't smoke'.

(5.21) a. *khwí=ki* *làga* *kyà-p* *nok*
'She=ERG work do PST.DISJ'
'She worked.'

b. *khó =ki* *ìki* *tí-p* *nok*
he=ERG letter write-NOM PST.DISJ
'He wrote a letter.'

5.5 Complementation

A complement clause is a clause that functions as an argument of another clause; it can be either a subject or object argument (Noonan 1985). In Sherpa, complements occur in object position; subject complements are unattested. Examples in (5.22) below indicate clauses with the complement taking predicates (CTPs) *think, remember, want,* and *forget.*

(5.22) a *khó =ki* *ɲè* *làga* *kyà-p* *paʈe* *kyà* *suŋ*
he=ERG I=ERG work do-NOM believe do PST.DISJ
'He thought that I worked.'

b. *ɲè* *khó =ki* *áci* *úŋ-gup* *nàsam* *šár* *yin*
I=ERG he=GEN sister come-NOM mind see CONJ
'I remembered that his sister came.'

c. *ŋà* *yembur=la* *ɖò* *gò* *ki* *yin*
I Kathmandu=LOC go want IMP PST.CONJ
'I want to go to Kathmandu.'

d. *khó* *tsámpa* *sá-p* *gò* *ki* *nok*
she tsampa eat-NOM want IMP PST.DISJ
'She wants to eat tsampa.'

e. *ŋà* *šá* *sá-p* *mo-gò* *ki* *nok*
I meat eat-NOM NEG.want IMP PST.DISJ
'I don't want to eat meat.'

f. *mira* *pò* *ɲò-p* *zè-tup* *nok*
mira incense buy-NOM forget PST.DISJ
'Mira forgot to buy incense.'

CTPs in Sherpa take nominalised stems, however it is possible for a complement to occur with bare stems as in (5.22c). While I do not have systematic data on alternations of which CTPs take nominalised stems and which CTPs take uninflected stems, it is clear from example (5.22c) above that *gò* 'want' can take inflected or uninflected stems. In my data I have several examples of *gò* 'want' as a CTP, and all but the example in (5.22c) have nominalised stems in the complement.

Indirect questions are also used as a complementising strategy, as illustrated in (5.23) below. In this example the object complement occurs sentence initially.

(5.23) *sú=ki* *ʧhòŋtaŋ* *ŋà=la* *šék-yup* *ráŋ* *me-nok*[4]
who=ERG see I=DAT know-NOM reflexive NEG-DISJ
'I, myself, don't know who saw you.'

In this example the reflexive *raŋ* has an emphatic function.

5.6 Relativisation

Relative clauses in Sherpa are formed through nominalisation. The nominaliser is present in all relative clauses.[5] The relativisation pattern is quite simple in comparison to other Bodic languages (see DeLancey 1999 for a general description of relativisation in Bodic languages, Genetti 1992 (Nepalese languages) and 1994 (Dolakha Newar), Matisoff 1972 (Lahu), and Noonan 1997 (Chantyal) for descriptions of other languages with relatively simple relativisation patterns). All relative clauses in Sherpa are pre-nominal, that is, they directly precede the head noun. The relative clause verb is nominalised,[6] and the NP coreferential with the head noun is necessarily absent in the relative clause. This is illustrated in (5.24) below where the relative clause *kap chák-up* precedes the head noun *mí* 'man':

(5.24) [*kap* *chák-up*] *mí* *thì* *di* *yin*
cup break-NOM man that this PST.CONJ
'This is the man who broke the cup.'

Relative clauses are similar to nominalised clauses except for one clear distinction that is present in sentences containing relative clauses and is not present in those with other nominalised clauses. In relative clauses the head noun is always followed by the distal demonstrative *thì* 'that', except in cases when the head noun is a location. If the identity of the head noun is recoverable from discourse context, it may be elided, leaving the distal demonstrative to function as the head; this construction is relatively rare. Headless relative clauses are unattested.

5.6.1 Subject relativisation

The following examples show subject relativisation in Sherpa. In (5.25) below, the head noun *jónda* is the A in both the matrix and the relative clauses. In the examples below, the head noun is underlined and the relative clause contained in square brackets.

(5.25) [*kúr* *sá-p*] *jónda* *thì* *dì* *yin*
bread eat-NOM boy that this PST.CONJ
'This is the boy who ate the bread.'

---

[4] This is an unusual form, possibly from *ma-we-nok*.

[5] Schöttelndreyer (1973) used a relative clause in the translation of the following sentence which has no nominalisation: *peja thi=ki raŋ bin suŋ* as 'He is the one who gave the book'. My gloss for this sentence is: *book he*=ERG *only give* PST.DISJ, which suggests a closer translation is something like 'He himself gave the book', which omits the relative clause.

[6] Unlike some other Bodic languages, the nominaliser is not followed by the genitive morpheme.

The partial sentence in (5.26) below is a text example of subject relativisation. It is taken from the text in Appendix 1, sentence 15. In this example the head noun is the A in the matrix and the S in the relative clause.

(5.26) *ani èti thì [áŋa kèce wót-up] èti thì ...*
and yeti that baby bear have-NOM yeti that
'And that yeti that was pregnant...'

In (5.27 a, b) below the head noun *mí* is the A role agent in the matrix and the S role agent in the relative clause. (5.27 a) illustrates a perfective example of relativisation and (5.27 b) illustrates an imperfective relative clause. Note that there is no difference in aspect marking of the perfective and imperfective relative clauses. Aspect is inferred from the semantics of the clause, and from the aspect of the matrix clause.

(5.27) a. *[kap chák-up] mí thì khàŋba=LOC ɖo nok*
cup break-NOM man that house=LOC go PST.DISJ
'The man who broke the cup went home.'

b. *[ɖà sá-p] mí thì yembur=la de ki wi*
rice eat-NOM man that Kathmandu=LOC live IMP EVID
'The man who is eating rice lives in Kathmandu.'

c. *khó=ki [kacha sa-p] rà thì ʧhòŋ nok*
he=ERG shoe eat-NOM goat that see PST.DISJ
'He saw the goat that ate the shoe.'

5.6.2 Object relativisation

The examples in (5.28) below indicate object relativisation. Example (5.28a) is taken from a text about a bet made over who could win the king's daughter's hand in marriage. In (5.28a) the A is unexpressed in both the matrix and the relative clause. In (5.28b) the A in the matrix is *khó* 'he' while the A in the relative clause is *rà* 'goat'; the O in both clauses is *kacha* 'shoe'.

(5.28) a. *[báji*[7] *jó-up] thì šor yi nok*
bet do-NOM that lose IMP PST.DISJ
'(He) lost that which he bet.'

b. *[rà thì=ki sa-p] kacha thì khó ʧhòŋ nok*
goat that =ERG eat-NOM shoe that he see PST.DISJ
'He saw the shoe that the goat ate.'

---

[7] From Nepali *baaje* 'bet'.

5.6.3 Oblique relativisation

In (5.29) below, the relative clause is expressed with a head noun *dàsa* 'place'.

(5.29) *ŋà* *khyóraŋ=la* [*chorten* *wót-up*] *dàsa =la* *ʧetu*
I you=DAT stupa have-NOM place=LOC meet
ki *wi*
IMP EVID
'I will meet you where the stupa is.'

This location *dàsa* is an interesting form of the word 'place' in a Tibeto-Burman language. Several Bodic languages make use of a *sa* relativiser which is used to mark location (and occasionally source). Etymologically this nominaliser derives from Classical Tibetan, and means 'place' or 'earth' (DeLancey 1999). In my elicitations I found that the word for 'place' can only be *dàsa*, and *sa* alone is not acceptable. However, Thompson (1976) refers to *sa* as a locative nominaliser. It is used rarely in the texts in Thompson's study, and when used, the nominalised clauses do not fit the relativisation pattern described here, as there is no immediately following demonstrative. Thompson's study is a presentation of short texts and a short glossary, with very little morphological analysis and no syntactic analysis, which makes it difficult to ascertain the basis for some of his morphological glossing. The following example is taken directly from a text in Thompson (1976:22):

(5.30) *yambur* *la* *ne* *zal-* *sa* *ʧeso* *ni* *woi*
kathmandu DAT shrine see LOC largest two have
'In Kathmandu are the two largest shrines [in Nepal].'

The translation of this sentence appears to be slightly odd. Thompson is not clear regarding whether this comes from a text or is an elicited example. Regardless, an alternative translation could be 'In Kathmandu are the two largest shrines that one can see'.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the consultant Thompson worked with in a field methods class at Berkeley is from a monastery in Khumbu, and is a fluent Tibetan speaker. Throughout the texts presented in Thompson's study there is frequent use of Nepali words and affixes. It is possible that the use of *sa* in these texts is related to the speaker's knowledge of Tibetan. Alternatively, it is possible that the *sa* locational relativiser is acceptable to some speakers and not to others, and that further elicitation with a wider range of speakers may confirm this.

5.7 Clause chaining

Sherpa has two clause-chaining suffixes, which are used with different verbs, but which both occur on non-finite verbs that occur prior to the main verb of the clause. The clause chain marker used with the fewest verbs is *-si*. In my data it occurs only with *lép*[8] 'to

[8] I transcribe 'to arrive' as *lép*, which is likely to be a contracted form of *léw-up*, however the latter form of the verb was not recognised by any of my consultants.

arrive', and *hò* 'to come', as illustrated in the following example taken from a narrative about a chase:

(5.31) *ma.ɲè sìma lé-p-si tha twá ɲí thì rì=la*
NEG.find after arrive-NOM-CC now they two that jungle=LOC

gàlu yi nok
go IMP PST.DISJ
'After arriving, the two went into the jungle.'

The other clause-chaining suffix, used with all other verbs, is *-ni*, which is illustrated below. Chaining can occur across a range of semantically different actions. In (5.32) below, the clause chain is being used in a pair of sequential actions. The first action is the meeting, in this case it is a man who has returned to the village after 15 years asking about news in the village, and this event is followed by the gathering of people for a party to celebrate his return. For example:

(5.32) *thì sìma thì gòmu-ti yúl=ki jónda-twa phúmpeza-twa*
ask after that night-PRT village=GEN boy-PL girl-PL

zàm-ni chàŋduŋ kyà-p ki wi
meet-CC party do-NOM IMP EVID
'That night, after asking, the village boys and girls met and had a party.'

In example (5.33) the clause chain is occurring in a modification role. Typically, clause chain markers occur at the end of an intonation unit. In this example, there is no pause or falling intonation after *lúŋ-ni*, although there is after *ják*, and it appears that verb 'pour' here is modifying the verb 'put'.

(5.33) *thama tíng=la cháŋ=la thúk lúŋ-n ják...*
then time=LOC chang=LOC poison pour-CC put
'Then put poison in the chang.'

Example (5.34) below illustrates the use of repeated chaining as a means of indicating an on-going or extended action. For example:

(5.34) *thàma gàwa taŋ gàma pàp khyà-ni ŋú-ni ŋú -ni*
then old.man and old.woman sad do-CC cry-CC cry-CC

ŋú -ni dè phúmti kaŋ ma.lów yi nok
cry-CC stay girl never.IMP NEG.return IMP PST.DISJ
'And then the old man and the old woman were sad and stayed and cried and cried and cried and the child was never to return.'

Sherpa makes limited use of constructions in which two non-compounded verb roots occur together expressing various facets of the same event complex. Not all non-finite verbs are marked with clause-chaining morphology, however when there was no clause chain marker on non-finite verbs my consultant said it was possible to insert it. For example in several expository texts I have found speakers alternating between using *lúŋ-ni*

ják 'pour put ' as in (5.30) above, and *lúk jak* 'pour put' with no difference in meaning. Alternations such as this suggest that the clause chain marker is optional but preferred.

DeLancey (1991), discussing Lhasa Tibetan, shows how certain semantic-pragmatic contexts make the use of a chaining morpheme redundant and that the subsequent loss of morphology may lead to the development of verb serialisation. A similar process may be beginning here.

Appendix A: A Sherpa narrative text

Why there are no lowland yeti

The following narrative was related to me by Nawang Tsetu Sherpa. Nawang is a lodge owner in Namche Bazaar. He is in his early 30s and his daily languages of interaction are Nepali, Sherpa, and English. He speaks Sherpa primarily at home with his family, particularly older relatives. With younger relatives he speaks Nepali, and uses both Nepali and English in business transactions. He has spent most of his life in the Khumbu region, and has visited the United States. The following text was recorded in Nawang's family kitchen on October 21st, 1998. The audience consisted of his family, both older and younger generations, for most of whom the story was very familiar. The story told here is the story of why there are no more yeti in the lowland regions of Khumbu. The story is about early Sherpa settlers who lived in a village named Tarnga. They grew potatoes and built houses, and while they did this during the day, yetis were up in the hills watching them. At night time the yetis then came down into the village and began acting like the people and eating all their potatoes. The people became angry and had a meeting and decided that they would pretend to drink lots of chang and have a fight and kill each other and then at night the yeti would copy their actions. The people then put out wooden swords and water and pretended to kill each other. They then put out real chang with poison in it, and real weapons. That night, the yetis came into the village and drank the chang and fought with the weapons and were killed. However, one yeti was pregnant and she stayed up on the hill and watched. She became very afraid when she saw what happened and was too scared to go into the village again. Therefore, we never see yetis in the lowland near villages.

The transcription conventions used in the text are as follows. The text is divided into 116 numbered intonation units (IU), as outlined by Du Bois et al (1993). Each IU ends with a symbol identifying its transitional continuity: Continuing intonation is marked with a comma (,); final intonation is marked with a period. IU-initial pauses are marked with an ellipsis (...), and uncertain glossing is followed by a question mark in parentheses (?). A free translation is provided at the end of the transcription.

1. *taŋbo taŋbo ŋu=la,*
   many many first=LOC
2. *.. tarŋa sír-up lúŋba thì=la,*
   .. Tarŋa say-NOM village that=LOC,
3. *šerwa thì phe=la me ho sìma,*
   Sherpa that Tbt=LOC from come after
4. *.. tarŋa sír-up,*
   .. Tarŋa say-NOM
5. *lúŋ-ba thì=la dè-tup yi nok.*
   village PRT=LOC stay-NOM IMP EVID
6. *thama the,*
   and there
7. *.. šérwa twa,*
   .. sherpa PL
8. *rìki tam-ni so-ni,*
   potato grow eat-CC
9. *khàŋba tìkpe tìkpe zo-ni,*
   house small small build-CC
10. *thé dè sìma,*
    there stay after
11. *lépsi tíngla*
    arrive after
12. *rìki thi sa-p bela,*
    potato that eat-NOM time
13. *eti=ki dùkpa maŋmu bìndup yi nok.*
    yeti=ERG trouble many give IMP EVID
14. *eti thì=ki,*
    yeti that=GEN
15. *eti thì=ki ho sìma,*
    yeti that=GEN come after
16. *... mí táp-ni wot-u rìki ti óroŋ,*
    ... people grow-CC grow-NOM potato PRT all
17. *so sìma,*
    eat after
18. *... mí=ki kaŋ kyu thì lúmu ti se sìma,*
    ... people=GEN what do that copy EMP go after
19. *mí=ki rìki ti óroŋ,*
    people=GEN potato EMP all

20. *so-ni* *dukpa* *máŋmu* *bìndup* *sìma*
eat-CC trouble very give after

21. *lep-si* *mí* *ti* *óroŋ,*
arrive-CC people EMP all

22. *ŋèrma* *lá* *sìma,*
anger rise after

23. *thama* *mí* *ti* *óroŋ,*
and people EMP all

24. *jom* *sìma,*
meet after

25. *mitiŋ* *cikk* *hyap* *yi* *nok.*
meeting one do IMP EVID

26. .. *thama,*
.. and

27. *mitiŋ* *ti* *khirup* *bela,*
meeting EMP do time

28. *támŋe* *ti* *tha* *khwi=ki,*
language EMP now they=ERG

29. *chaŋ* *daga* *máŋmu* *cho-ni* *ják* *sìma,*
beer put many ?-CC put after

30. *chaŋ* *ják* *máŋmu* *choni* *ják,*
beer put many ?-CC put

31. *chaŋ=la* *thúk* *lúŋ-ni* *ják,*
beer poison pour-CC put

32. *thama* *tiŋla,*
and then

33. .. *(H)* *chaŋ=la* *thúk* *lúŋ-ni* *ják,*
beer=LOC poison pour-CC put

34. *chaŋ* *dzo,*
beer make

35. *thama,*
and

36. .. *khwi=ki* *eti* *"kaŋ* *khi* *nok"* *sírup*
.. they=ERG yeti what do EVID say

37. *ŋírmu* *mí=ki* *kaŋ* *kha-p,*
daytime people what do-NOM

38. *lúmu* *se-tup* *yi* *nok.*
copy do-NOM IMP EVID

39. *lúmu se sìma,*
copy do after

40. *ŋírmu ti eti thi ri gow=la me ma,*
daytime EMP yeti that hill top=on from down

41. *mí ti khaŋ kya-p lhá-ni,*
people EMP what do-NOM look-CC

42. *dèt-up yi nok.*
stay=NOM IMP EVID

43. *thama mí thì khaŋ kyu lhá-ni de sìma,*
and people the what do look-SIM stay after

44. *núpla de sìma,*
night stay after

45. .. *ma yu=la ho sìma,*
.. down village=LOC come after

46. *mí lúmu se sìma,*
people copy do after

47. *rìki tau cinkyo,*
potato grow like

48. *mí=la,*
people

49. *máŋmu bízen khyap sìma,*
many misfortune do fter,

50. *thama mí twa=ki pɑla,*
and people PL=GEN turn

51. *khoroŋ ti,*
their EMP

52. .. *šiŋgi=ki,*
.. wooden=GEN

53. *tàrwa jyow sìma,*
weapon made after

54. *šiŋ=gi thìk taŋ,*
wood=GEN knife and

55. .. *šiŋ ják sìma,*
.. wood put after

56. *khoroŋ ti ŋìrmu chaŋ ti chu,*
their EMP daytime beer EMP water

57. *(chu) ti ják sìma,*
water EMP put after

58. *chaŋ nore khyap sìma,*
beer like did after

59. *thu sìma,*
drink after

60. *zizin tse sìma,*
drunk acting after

61. *(H) ci cik=la thìk gyákriŋ tse-p*
(H) one another=DAT knife fight play-NOM

62. *cik,*
one, (false start)

63. *cik=la gyokpa gyákriŋ tsé sìma,*
another=DAT stick fight play after

64. *ši-p zink hyap yi nok.*
die-NOM like do IMP EVID

65. *thama thì ti èti twa=ki,*
and that EMP yeti PL=GEN

66. *lhá-ni de-tup yi nok.*
look-CC stay-NOM IMP EVID

67. *khya sìma èti twa=ki lhá-ni,*
doing after yeti pl=GEN look-CC

68. *de sìma,*
stay after

69. *núpla thama tha núpla,*
night and now night

70. *thama tha núpla èti ti ho-ni,*
and now night yeti EMP come=CC,

71. *lúmu se-tu ki yin,*
copy do-NOM IMP CONJ

72. *thama núpla lepsi sìma šerwa wo=re,*
and night arrive after Sherpa 1PL=GEN

73. *mí thì=ki pɑla (H) thìk ŋoma ják ják,*
people that=GEN turn (H) knife real put like

74. *ca=ki làgem ják sìma,*
metal=GEN stick put after

75. *thìk riŋbu,*
knife long

76. *tɑ̀rwa ják sìma,*
weapon put after

77. *(H) thama chaŋ=la thúk,*
(H) and beer=LOC poison

78. *luŋ-ni chaŋ kharma ják sìma,*
put-CC beer strong put after

79. *thama núpla phíla teni jop yi nok.*
and night outside turn about IMP EVID

80. *thama núpla etitwa*
and night yeti-PL

81. *.. saŋsaŋ,*
.. trot

82. *ho sìma,*
come after

83. *èti thì saŋ ho*
yeti that all come

84. *èti cik raŋ àŋa kèce,*
yeti one only baby pregnant

85. *cik wotu yi nok.*
one is IMP EVID

86. *thì cik raŋ ma ho sìma thì*
that one only NEG come after that

87. *ti lhá-ni dèt-up yi nok.*
EMP look-CC stay-NOM IMP EVID

88. *thama,*
and

89. *eti that=ki thama núpla le-p sìma,*
yeti that=ERG and night arrive-NOM after

90. *eti twa chaŋ thúŋ-ni chaŋ-i*
yeti PL chang drink-CC chang=ERG

91. *zi sìma,*
drunk after

92. *chaŋ koše thúŋ-ni chaŋ*
chang many drink-CC chang

93. *tse sìma,*
play after

94. *thìk gyare tse ja,*
knife fight play lose

95. *go=la gyare tse sìma*
head=LOC fight play after

96. *eti thì,*
yeti EMP

97. .. *wotumetu,*
.. everyone

98. .. *thì raŋ še-p yi nok.*
.. that only dead-NOM are

99. *ši sìma,*
dying after

100. *lepsi thama eti ti,*
arrive and yeti EMP

101. *aŋa kece wo-tup cik thì lhá-ni,*
baby pregnant have-NOM one that look-CC

102. *de-ni wo-tup yi nok,*
staying was-NOM IMP EVID

103. *thì ti jow=la sìma*
that EMP afraid after

104. *eti ti,*
yeti EMP

105. *thì tha thama thì áŋa kece wotu,*
that now and that baby pregnant was

106. *eti ti taŋ thì áŋa ti raŋ,*
yeti EMP and that baby PRT only

107. *mísi thì bela*
otherwise that time

108. *malu sìma*
NEG-leave after

109. *thama thì gaire thì gomu ši sìma,*
and that all that night die after

110. *eti ti thì ŋí-raŋ lù-p sìma*
yeti EMP that two only remain-NOM after

111. *thama thene juŋ ne*
and then that.time from

112. *eti ti jow la sìma,*
yeti EMP afraid feel after

113. *thama yú=la maho.*
and village=LOC NEG-come

114. *thánda sakla mo.toŋbu*
now since NEG-see

115. *karɑ̃n* *thì* *yin.*
therefore that is

Translation

Many years ago there was a village called Tarŋa that Sherpas lived in after coming from Tibet. The Sherpas grew and ate potatoes, they built small houses and when they grew all the potatoes the yetis ate them and gave them trouble. After the people had grown potatoes the yetis came and copied them, doing what the people did, and they were giving lots of trouble and eating potatoes, and the people became angry and all the people had a meeting. At that time they talked about putting out lots of beer and in the beer pouring poison and they would have made poison beer, and the yetis would be saying "What do they do?' and they would copy what the people did during the day. In the daytime the yetis stayed on top of a hill and were looking down at what the people were doing. And after watching what the people were doing they were coming into the village at nightfall and copying the people growing potatoes, and they were making trouble for people, and now it was the people's turn; after making their wooden weapons and wooden knives and putting them outside, and then after putting out water for beer in the daytime, the people were drinking and acting drunk, and they had a play fight with one another, and after playing a stick fight they were pretending to die. And the yetis stayed watching. After watching the people, at nighttime the yetis were copying. After nightfall it was all the Sherpa people's turn and outside they put real knives and metal sticks and poisonous beer. At night the yetis came; one yeti was pregnant. That yeti stayed and watched and didn't come. After the yetis died the yeti that was pregnant stayed watching. Afterwards that yeti was afraid and the yeti who was pregnant and the baby who didn't die that night were the only two yetis that remained, and they were afraid and they didn't come to the village any more; therefore, since then we haven't seen any yetis.

Appendix B: A Sherpa glossary

This glossary is based on words collected through elicitation and from texts. The glossary follows Roman alphabetization and is laid out as follows: the left-most column is the Sherpa word, and to the right of this is the 'Alternative' column, which in indicates alternative words (or pronunciations) provided by my consultants. The column headed S&S/HT indicates some alternative forms found by Schötteldreyer and Schöttelndreyer (1973) and Thompson (HT) 1976. I have not included Ang Phinju Sherpa and Lhakpa Doma Salaka-Binasa Sherpa's word lists for comparison as they are not written phonemically and both are moulded to fit devenagari script, which does not fit with the pronunciations presented here.

Note that in this glossary tone is not marked on all words as a few words were given to me while trekking and many were given in isolation, and I am unable to determine the correct tone. Many of the alternative forms are not marked with tone as only Schötteldreyer and Schöttelndreyer indicated tone in their wordlists and they represent tone in a four box system which differs from the system presented in this grammar. In Chapter 2 I noted the difference between Khumbu and Solu speakers with respect to several features. One of these is the absence of word-final velars in Solu Sherpa, where they are found in Khumbu Sherpa. For example: *sèmdu~sèmduk* 'sorrow', *rímu~ rímuŋ* 'rabbit'. These differences occur quite regularly across the word lists of the different dialects, and are not indicated as alternatives in the following word list. Forms that have a (R) symbol next to them are honorific alternatives.

Sherpa	Alternatives	S&S/HT Alternates	English	Notes
àŋa			child (young)	
àŋa ŋowa			baby	
àŋa or nuk			younger brother	
àŋa or numu			younger sister	
àŋa tìkpe			small child	
abúʈali			childless	
àcu	uju, cucu		older brother	
ái	aji, cici		older sister/ cousin	
àjaŋ		cacang	uncle	mother's brother
ála gyop			to turn over	
àmji			doctor	
ámjok	namjok (Solu)		ear	
ámumayi	meši		buffalo female	
àni			aunt	father's sister
àni			nun	
àpšok		zokpa	wing	
árak			liquor	
árak kolu			brew	
àriŋ			today	
àrkyok			hour	
árkyok	chápu	puzok	feather	
árkyok	narkyok (Solu)		horn	
ás khárup			to hope	
àu	aupapa		uncle	father's younger bro
àupapa			mother's 2nd husband	
bàlwa			frog	
bá			goiter	

Sherpa	Alternatives	S&S/HT Alternates	English	Notes
bãgɑr	ʈhàl		rafter	
bàŋgup			hide (things)	
bàŋi			many	
bàŋi			too much	
bácak			bamboo shoot	
báji jóup			to bet	
bákpa			mask	
bàkula			broadbean	
bàlip			butterfly	
bàljaŋ			spider	
bànda kopi			cabbage	
bàrsaŋ top			to scrape	
báskap			film	
báskap lháp dàsa			cinema	film seeing place
bati	yeŋge		light	
bèrmaŋ			cat	
bòla			side	
bolmu			soft	
bórup			to try	
bówup			to swell	
bù			insect	
bùgyeldaŋ			worm	
buksal			cymbal	
cà			iron	
càŋ			web	
cáŋa			fifteen	
càŋbu			clever	

Sherpa	Alternatives	S&S/HT Alternates	English	Notes
càka			bee hive	
cálak			thing/object	
cálak			utensils	
cálak ju dasa			storage room	thing keep place
càlgyop			to swim	
càpge			eighteen	
cápši khírup			to begin	start+do
cáwu			rooster	
cèmbu			glossy	
cèndi			heavy	
cétendup			to show	
cétup			to shut	
chá			fever	
chá		cecum	bird	
chạ̀			manure	
chàŋ			beer	
chàŋ			north	
chàŋ			spider web	
cháŋduŋ			party	
chàŋmu		ngongbu	green	
chájak			sieve	
chák chak			fidget	
chákaŋ			bathroom	
chákaŋ			toilet	
chákpa			clan name	
chákup			break	
chàmbup			to dance	also type of dance
chàmdur			tsampa with tea	

Sherpa	Alternatives	S&S/HT Alternates	English	Notes
chápu			feather	bird+outer covering
chàram			ice	
chàri bosuŋ			to get wet	
chàwi			mosquito	
chèchuŋ			measure clothes	
chèkok			chest	
chèla			tongue	
chèmak			saliva	
chémbu			silky	
chèmuŋ			chicken	
chermaŋ			vegetable	
chíbuk			stream	
chík			potato masher	
chímba			liver	
chíwa			cat year	
chòrten			stupa	also woman's name
chóru			dirty	
chótu			chang&flour	
chú			water	
chù khírup			to plan	
chúŋgup			to become	
chúŋma			cow	
chúkpu			rich	
chúlo			boil water	
chùtu	porto		lip	
cíbaraši		ceprazi	lizard	
cík			one	
cíkla			each	

Sherpa	Alternatives	S&S/HT Alternates	English	Notes
cíkpa			same	
cíkraŋ			single	
cím			rib	
cítil			underskirt	
cò toŋgu			to dye	
còktsi			table	
coni ɖap			to run	
cù			ten	
cùŋi			twelve	
cùba			tenth	
cùcik			eleven	
cùksum			thirteen	
cùmin			candle for dead	
cùpdin			seventeen	
cupši			fourteen	
cùrgu			nineteen	
cùri gyop			to twist	
cùruk			sixteen	
cúruk			bead	
cùwa			long coat	
cakphu khiru			cheat	
ceŋgye khiru			clean	
còp			to scoop out	
còwup	khegyow		to sweep	
ɖà			rice	
ɖàŋ			yesterday	
ɖà=ki phè			rice flour	rice=GEN flour
ɖámbup			to flick	

Sherpa	Alternatives	S&S/HT Alternates	English	Notes
ɖáp			to depart/leave	
ɖáp			to go	
ɖáp			to walk	
ɖáp gyop			to fold	
ɖèn			carpet	
ɖéu			old folks	
ɖíu			adjust	
ɖòŋbu			market sellers	
ɖokta gyop			to kick	
ɖòm			potato storer	
ɖómbu			guest	
ɖúk			dragon	
ɖúl			wheel	
ɖùrmu			witch	
dɑ̀lza			friend	
dɑ̀lza khiru			help	
dàŋ			hook (for clothing)	
dàktsi			mud	
dàma			corn ear	
dàmpup			to drop	
dàrsuŋ			sufficient	
dàwa			Monday	
dè			here	
dèrmaŋ			plate	
dèsa			seat	
dètu			sit	

Sherpa	Alternatives	S&S/HT Alternates	English	Notes
dètup			to reside	
dì			this	
dì			those	
dìŋmi			ground	
dìklam			discipline	
dìn			seven	
dò	thak		stone	
dòŋbu			tree	
dóŋla			in front of	
dóŋmu			tea churn	
dòbrok			gravel	
dòdur		dobur	knot	
dóko			basket (large)	
dòmla			bulk buy	
dònijop			to take out	
dórup			grate	
dòzum			flour holder	
dù			grain	
dùŋ			sting/pincers	
dúŋgup			to beat/hit	
dùŋu			grind	
dúŋup			to hit	
dúl			snake year	
dùmje			exorcism	also large festival
éŋgi	phúrca,	aŋki	dress	
èbraŋ			fly	
éri			dumplings	

Sherpa	Alternatives	S&S/HT Alternates	English	Notes
èrmaŋ			pepper	
éti			yeti	
gɑ̀			skin dirt	
gá			glad	
gá			happiness	
gàŋ			large bowl	
gáŋba			balloon	
gáŋbu			everybody	
gáŋbu			all	
gàga			great grandfather	
gàma			grandmother	
gàma			old woman	
gápcemu			proud	
gašok			oldest	
gàwa			grandfather	
gàwa			old man	
gé			eight	
géba			eighth	
gèlmu			queen	
gèlou			turnip	
gélup			to win	
gènda			older person	
gèrkin			teacher	Tibetan
gérok			beard	
gèrok			moustache	
gešar			ginger	
gézhu			eighty	
gìlo roti			pancake	

Sherpa	Alternatives	S&S/HT Alternates	English	Notes
gíra			bigger	
gírok			biggest	
gírpu			big	
giwu			bag	
gò			door	
gọ̀			head	
gò			need	
goʈa khirup			to laugh	
gòʈe			hut	
gòʈhi			barn	
gòʈi			floor wood	
góktum			pestal	
góla			atop	
góla			courtyard	
gòli			ball	
gòlja			lock	
gòm			to meditate	
gòmala			at first	
gómbup			to cross a river	
gòmpa			monastary	also 'worship place'
gònde			convent	
gòpcu			ninety	
gótup			to divide	
gú			nine	
gúʈu			spread	
gùba			ninth	
gùnbu			winter	
gúndum			raisin	

Sherpa	Alternatives	S&S/HT Alternates	English	Notes
gùtup			to wait	
gyàmu			fat	
gyáp			back	
gyáp	zòp		to make	
gyàr	kodo		millet	
gyèlbu			king	
gyerok			hairy face	
gyóp			to copulate	
gyòp			to strike	
hàbu			goat male	
hákop			to unfasten	
hàmagaga			grandmother	
hạ̀mce			aunt	mother's older sister
hạ̀mu			goat female	
hár			market	
háyaŋ			pot (aluminium)	
hínjik mínjik			compulsory	also absolutely
íbi			mother-in-law	
ícetu			faithful	
íki			letter	
jám			porridge I	
jàmbu			cloth	
jàmšok			smooth	
jànchuŋ			test	
járu			to stick	
jé			after tomorrow	
jèmbu			slippery	
jèn			feast	
jérkinok			sticky	

Sherpa	Alternatives	S&S/HT Alternates	English	Notes
jèrma	kowakar		fox	
jí		poti	necklace	
jíŋ tùŋgup			to urinate	
jíŋba			neck	
jík			leopard	
jíla			why	
jíup			to suck	
jónda			boy	
jòp			to keep	
jósure			timid	
jùŋ			dirt floor	
júŋla			floor	
jùmar			ghee	
jùptok			finger	
júrcik			pair	
kàruŋ			window	
ká			pillar	
kàŋba			leg	
káŋri			high	
kàlak			crow	
kàle			difficult	
káli			anklet	
kàmbu màrtsi			dried chilli	
kámbup			dry	verb
kámis		tycung	shirt	
kàni			village gate	
kápetup			to open	
kàpli			skull	

Sherpa	Alternatives	S&S/HT Alternates	English	Notes
kàrbuja			melon	
kàrela			squash	
kàrma			star	
kàru			white	
kàsalmu			open or endearing	
kaše			loud	
kathi			bed	From Nepali 'kat'
kátsendi			hot	
kàza		kaca kwosen	short	
kègyop			abuse	
kéldaŋ			waist	
khá			mouth	
khá			snow	
khàŋ			what	
kháŋba			house	
kháŋi khirup			to pretend	
khàŋrecire			anything	
kháŋri			mountain	'snow' + 'hill'
khàŋsaŋme	khaŋsaŋmin		nothing	
khádup			argue	
khála			on	
khàmbu			stone fruit	
kháni			where	
khanisaŋ			anywhere	
kháp			needle	
khàrnuk			day before yesterday	
khašow			gargle	
khásow	kápchu		cover to	

Sherpa	Alternatives	S&S/HT Alternates	English	Notes
khèra tóŋgup			to waste	
khètoŋgu			call	
khí			dog year	
khímbok			spoon	
khíraŋ			you (pl)	
khíru			do	
khítaŋ			custom	
khó			she/he	
khò		khowa	soup	
khóŋla			between	
khòŋzu			you (R)(M)	
khòkpu		melakpa	bad	
khóndup			to put on	
khòwa			cold	to feel cold
khún khírup			to steal	
khúni úŋgu			bring	
khúp			vagina	
khùr			trader's tent	
khúrmi		khurmen	porter	
khúrup			carry to	
khùtuk khírup			separate	
khyèp			to yell	
khyó			qualified	
khyòkpeza			man	
khyóraŋ			you	
khyówa			husband	
kí			dog	
kildom jow			sit cross legged	

Sherpa	Alternatives	S&S/HT Alternates	English	Notes
kípchaŋ			jackel	
kírbu			lemon	
kírmu			happy	
kírmu			charming	
kírtumba			circle	
kíšik			flea	
kó			leather	
kòkpa			garlic	
kòkpa pets			onion	
kókta			bowl metal	
kóktsucik nok			not quite full	
kóp			to dig	
kóp			to split	
kòra			small bowl	
kòragyop			to turn	
kóšiŋ	phetu		bark	
kòsinpo			quietly	
kòsinpu			quiet	
kówup			to prick	
kú			paint	
kùn			disseminate	
kúr			bread flat	
kúrsi			chair	
kùrsi			statue	
kùru			sour	
kyáŋ			filled	
kyákpa			faeces	
kyákpa toŋgu			defecate	
kyè			noise	

Sherpa	Alternatives	S&S/HT Alternates	English	Notes
kyókolok			curved	
kyóla			behind	
kyóp			forbid	
kyú			porridge	
kyúkup			to vomit	
kyurni jop			to give up	
kyúrup			to throw	
là			late	
lá			deer	
lá			hill	
làŋ			ox	
làŋa			pot (curved)	
làŋbu			elephant	
láŋgu			rise	
láŋgup			to take	
láŋlaŋgup			to pop up	
làga khírup			to work	
làkam			stick	
làkam			walking stick	
làkcha			tool	
lákla kalu			spin	thread+spin
lakpi latap			hint	
lám			path	
làm pheka			half way	
làma			clan name	
lámbup			to fry	
lám tòŋgup			to get out of way	
lápšiŋ			grater	

Sherpa	Alternatives	S&S/HT Alternates	English	Notes
láup			to weave/knit	
làwa			steam	
lèmba			tick	
lembu			prime minister	
lèmu			beautiful (things)	
lèmu			good	
lèn			cover/lid	
lèndi			thin	
lèndi zòp			to make soft	
léop			to trample	
léšok			best	
lèta			brain	
lètu			chew	
léup			arrive	
lèwa			better	
lèwa			servant	
lhá			god	
lháŋma			fade	
lháŋma			false	
lhákpa			hand	
lhákpa			Wednesday	
lhákšuk			gloves	
lhákpa zop			to increase	
lháp			to look	
lhé		lhye	naval	
lhúmbu			fall	
lìŋ	phíla		thigh	
lìci			corn kernals	
líkpa			penis	

Sherpa	Alternatives	S&S/HT Alternates	English	Notes
lìmi			key	
ló			lungs	
ló			to cough	
lò			month	
lò			wall	
lo̱			year	
lòla			shelf	
lòm			cupboard	
lòma			Tibetan person	
lòp			to learn	
lóp			to teach	
lópta			student	
ló			south	
lòsar			new year festival	
lòtidyup			to satisfy	
lótok			agriculture	
lótup			to scatter	
lów			radish	
lòw			base	
lòwup			to smash	
lúŋ			wind	also úrtu
lúŋba	yu		village	
lùŋta			prayer flag	
lúk			to pour	
lùk			sheep	
lulaŋgu			sing	
lúmu			imitate	
màʈil		cura	bangle	

Sherpa	Alternatives	S&S/HT Alternates	English	Notes
máŋlo			refuse to go	
máŋmi			soldier	
máŋmu			too many	
màŋu			stop	
màlak			just now	
màlduk		curup	blanket	
mámo			low place	
màna			handful	for dry goods
máŋmo			large	
màni rimdu			autumn festival	
màr			butter	
már kútup			flatterer	butter spreader
màrcap			to insult	
mártsi			chilli	
mártsi ŋómbu			long chilli	
mártsi tsámba			round hot chilli	
màrwu			red	
màs			gram flour (black)	
màyaŋ	naŋba		family	
màyi			buffalo male	
mè			fire	
mèla			down	
mela rhótu p			to roast	
mèndok			flower	
mènti			selfish	
mèntok			spice	
meták			spark	
mí			person	

Sherpa	Alternatives	S&S/HT Alternates	English	Notes
mìŋ			name	
miŋapa			clan name	one of four clans
miʈatoŋgup	ninlup		to swallow	
míŋma			Tuesday	
míbur			eyebrows	
mík			eye	
mík šàl			glasses	
míkchu			tear	'eye'+'water'
míki látap khíru			eye signal	
mìksaŋ			hole	
mílam			dream	
min			not	
mízama			eyelashes	
mò gyóp	thoŋbal		plough	
mòʈu			to criticize	
mòte			soy bean	
mòtsa	ŋotsa		embarrassment	
mòza			socks	
múkpa			cloud	
mùkpa			fog	
mùkpa rú			wool insect	
mùla			near	
mùla			together	
mùla			with	
ŋá			drum	
ɲà			fish	
ŋà			five	

Sherpa	Alternatives	S&S/HT Alternates	English	Notes
ŋà			I	
ŋáŋ sutup			to relax	
ŋàma			tail	
ɲàmjuŋ			hen pecked	
ŋámu			early	
ŋàpcu	kàlŋa		fifty	
ŋàrmu			sweet	
ŋáti			pillow	
ŋàwa			fifth	
ŋè			my	
ɲècitup			to destroy	
ŋérmu			stupid	
ŋétup			to marinate	
ɲétup rú			to knead	
ŋí			two	
ŋì			our	
ŋíŋ			heart	
ŋìŋba			ancient	
ŋíŋba			old (thing)	
ɲíŋji			love	
ŋíba			second	
ŋícetup			awake	
ŋílo			sleep	
ŋíma			sun	also 'day', 'Sunday'
ŋíma	ŋirmu		day	

Sherpa	Alternatives	S&S/HT Alternates	English	Notes
ɲíma			Sunday	
ŋìmitaŋ			every day	
ŋíraŋ			we	
ŋíšu	kàl cík		twenty	
ŋòŋbu			blue	
ŋóp			to cry	
ŋòp			to count	
ŋótoŋ			face	
ŋúl			silver	
nà			barley flour	
na	gúi		day after tomorrow	
ná			ill	
nà	tšilu		meat fat	
ná kyólup			to promise	
nàʈi	naʈuŋ		forest	
náɲla			inside	
náɲla			in	
náɲla šyu			enter	
nàɲun			illegitimate child	
nàk			yak female	
nák dìŋI			dark	
nàkpo			black	
nalokpa	yeba		right hand	
nám	thók		ceiling	
nám			sky	
nàm			when	
náma	uni		wool	

Sherpa	Alternatives	S&S/HT Alternates	English	Notes
nàmdaŋ			butter candle	
násam tóŋgup			to think	
nàu			nose	
nè			holy place	
némbu			sharp	
nèzu			disease	'sick body'
nokta			peevish	
nore			alike	
notsa			shy	
nùm	ohma (Tibetan)		breast	
nùm			oil	
núp			night	
nùp			west	
ɲékok			pot	
ɲèndu			hear	
ɲèpche šetu			hate	
ɲérmu			interesting	
ɲètup			to find	
ɲètup			to get	
ɲówup			buy	
ɲùŋme			less	
ɲúk			pen	
óŋɲe thóŋgu			chide	
óŋmu			camel	also a woman's name
òktum			fist	
ọ̀ma			cow teet	
ọ̀ma		woma	milk	

Sherpa	Alternatives	S&S/HT Alternates	English	Notes
óp láŋgup			to stand	
ópkil			drum	respect form
órtuk			gale	
pàdur			blame	
pàla/popa			father	
pàlagaga	pàga		grandfather	
páp			sad/worried	
pàpche	habche		uncle	father's older brother
pàr gyop			to print	
pàsaŋ			Friday	
pátak			leech	
pátip			bamboo	
pàu			skin	
pàu ròti			bread loaf	
péʈu			loose	
pè̩ja			book	
pémba			Saturday	
pémbu			village head	
pèn tuŋgup			fart	
péraŋbu			poor	
péšutuk			pattern	SS gloss this as 'design'
pètsu			spinach	
pèza			child	
phá phó			long distance	
phàk			pig year	
phàkba			pig	
phápho			far away	

Sherpa	Alternatives	S&S/HT Alternates	English	Notes
phàrla	khoŋla		middle	
phè			rat	
phèka		phèkaayi	half	
phèma			money earning child	
phèma			sand	
phémar			ceremony tsampa	sweet for marriage; triangles for funerals
phérken			across	
pèrmi			wife	
phétu			spill	
phíŋsa			hat	
phíkok			outer covering	bark, peel, egg shell
phíla			outside	
phílokpa			reverse	
phínju			morning prayer	
phírim			mortar	
phírki			bumpy	
phíru			to fly	
phú			blow	
phùŋsi			chang making pot	lower chang pot
phùbu			Thursday	
phújuŋ			son	
phújuŋ			nephew	
phúk			cave	
phíka khiru			to kiss	
phúmloŋ			marriage step	
phúmpeza			girl	
phúmpeza			woman	

Sherpa	Alternatives	S&S/HT Alternates	English	Notes
phúmu			daughter	
phúmu			neice	
púri			cucumber	
phùrma			moss	
pìjim			pregnant	
pímuŋ			knee	
pín			relative	
pìtalu			overtake	
píthup			to wipe	
pòsaŋ			incense holder	
pú			body hair	
pú			fur / skin hair'	
pù	pùjuŋ		boy	
pùŋgu			to pour out	
puŋgup			to rotate	
pùŋu			donkey	
pùl			to push	
púlhu			serve offer	
rá			cotton	
rá			goat	
ráŋ			honey	
rájambu			silk	
rámbup			burst	
ráŋ			just or only	
réša			mutton	goat=GEN + meat
rhá			hair	
rhá ahetup			to comb	
rhé			burn	

Sherpa	Alternatives	S&S/HT Alternates	English	Notes
rhéku			bake	
rhélmu			arresting	interesting, gripping
rhéme tòŋgup			to dilute	
rhéndi			hard	
rhéup			to mingle	
rhéup			to wet	
rhímula	rhíldoŋba		round	
rhípchaŋ			shade	
rhíu			monkey	
rhótu			to make warm	
rhótu			warm	
rhú			beat rug	
rhútok	rhúta		string	
ríŋbu			long	
ríŋu			there distant	
rìki			potato	
rikpa numbu			wise	
rìkur			potato bread	
rìla			jungle	
rìldok			mashed potatoes	
rímju khírup			to search	
rímuŋ			rabbit	
rì sèmjen			wild animal	
ròŋba			non-Sherpa	
ròktum			button	
ròtuk	puŋba		shoulder	
ròup			read	
rú			avalanche	

Sherpa	Alternatives	S&S/HT Alternates	English	Notes
rù			clan	from rùgok 'bone' – related to ancestor
rùgok			bone	
rùl			snake	
rùlu	rùlwa		decayed	
rùlup			wear out	
rùmbup			to swarm	
sù			teeth	
sùtop	phé		to bite	
sá	tùŋ,	sermu	brass	*tuŋ* is white metal
sá			earth/ground	
sá			incense	
sá	júŋ		soil	
sà	sèrmu		copper	
šá			meat	
šá kàmbu			dried meat	
šák			nettle	
sákhaŋda			sweet potato	
šákpa			sherpa stew	
sála			on floor	
sàla			tomorrow	
sàma			after	
sàma			food	
sàma tsó			to boil food	
sámba			bridge	
sàmba			new	
šámuŋ			hat	same as mushroom
šámuŋ			mushroom	

Sherpa	Alternatives	S&S/HT Alternates	English	Notes
šànam			thin cloth	
sànijop	tsìu		to pile up	
sànum			kerosine	
sáp			eat	
šap			leg (R)	
šár			east	
šarwa			blind	
sašing	ziŋ		field	
saýiŋ			earthquake	
sèŋa			five hundred	
sèŋgi			lion	
sèbraŋ		širang	bee	
sèdiŋla			underground	
séjuŋ			floor	
šekyup ɲetuk			to know	
šélkum			bottle	
sèmduk			sorrow	
sèmjen			animal	
sèmne			miser	
sèn			seed	
sen khiru			to bear	
sén toru			sow	
šendu			ride	
šép			die	
šepla			little	
sér			gold	
sèr			hail	
sérmuŋ			fingernail	

Sherpa	Alternatives	S&S/HT Alternates	English	Notes
sermuŋ teop			to pinch	
šeru			bloom	
šerwa			sherpa	
sérwu			yellow	
šétu	thiu		ask	
sètup			to kill	
seyiŋI			two hundred	
ší			four	
šíŋ			wood	
šíŋ kop			to saw	
šíŋma		dumra (HT) cherm=i sing	garden	
šíba			fourth	
šík			lice	
sụ̀lwa			sharmen	
sìmu			quiet	
šìndoŋ			fruit	
sínsuŋ			finished	
šípcu	kalši		forty	
širok			cotton blanket	
sírup			to say	
sírup			to tell	
sìrup			to wring	
šìša			comb	
šìti pútup			to whistle	
šítup			to melt	
šò			curd	
šóŋba			wash tub	

Sherpa	Alternatives	S&S/HT Alternates	English	Notes
šóka			spring	
sòldok			charcoal	
šòlu			diarrhea	
šómak			leaf	
sònam			fate	
sórip			evening	
sòrtup		sartum	ring	worn only on fingers
šórup			to lose	
šòzi			sour vegetables	Cabbage and spinach preserves
sú		si	who	
šùbulup			to request	
šùk citu			penetrate	
súla			over	
súm			three	
súmba			third	
sumbu			collect	
súmju	kàl súm		thirty	
sùmju			oil burner	
súrsumba			triangle	
šùtu			peel	
sútup			to dissolve	
šyása			polite	
šyesu khiru			honour	
šyòŋ			chapati	
ʈà			wheat	
ʈàŋga			currency	
ʈàkʈak nok			to regret	

Sherpa	Alternatives	S&S/HT Alternates	English	Notes
ʈákʈuk		teri	every	
ʈàla gyop			fall to ground	
ʈè			monkey year	
ʈéla			up	
ʈèn			mattress	
ʈèngbu			true	
ʈéup			to weigh	
ʈhàŋbo			first	
ʈhème			perfume	
ʈhèp			enquire	
ʈhétup			to meet	
ʈhímbu			fast	
ʈhìu			to write	
ʈhóŋgu			to give advice	
ʈhòŋgu			see	
ʈhòkpa			flood	
ʈhòkpa			landslide	
ʈhóm			bear	
ʈhóp			to pluck	
ʈhópla			morning	
ʈhúʈuk khírup			to shake	
ʈhùlup			to rub	
ʈítu			take s.one s.thing	
ʈìu			to lead	
ʈòŋba			alcoholic drink	

Sherpa	Alternatives	S&S/HT Alternates	English	Notes
ʈóŋgu			sell	
ʈòŋgu			send	
ʈù			boat	
ʈútup			wash	
tà			arrow	
tá			horse	
tàŋ			and	
táŋbu			honest	
ták			tiger	
tákʈuk			discuss	
tákʈuk khírup			to complete	
tàla			forehead	
támɲe			language	
támɲe lóp			to talk	
támbup			fasten	
tápruk			orphan	
tàri		teri	axe	
táup			to distribute	
táup			to tie	
téŋla			above	
tèla			uproot	
tèndup			to draw	
téndup			to stretch	
tép			to lift	
tépa			ladder	
térup			pay	
térup			to give	

Sherpa	Alternatives	S&S/HT Alternates	English	Notes
térup			to give out	
thákh rìŋbu			far	
thákya			tea cup and holder	
tháldup			to dust	
thálhap			to taste	
thàlzam			ash	
thàma			and then	
thàma			glass shutter	
thama thuŋgup			to smoke	
thámbu			tight	
thámup		khadap	to fight	
thànda			now	
tháu			buckwheat	
tháup			to measure	
thé			there	
thèŋa			beads for prayer	
thékpa			rope	
thèla			straight	
thème			fine	delicate
thème zop			cut up in pieces	
théndup			to pull	
théop			to cut	
thèp thèp khírup			to wink	
théptok			thumb	
thì			it	used for people too
thì			that	
thì bela			at the time	
thílup	tùm		to wrap	
thíma nop			to smell	

Sherpa	Alternatives	S&S/HT Alternates	English	Notes
thímuŋ		chi	elbow	
thó			thatch roof	
thóʈoŋgu			to touch	
thók			roof	
thómbu			hot (climate)	
thòndak			reason	
thóp			to jump	
thòpa			stomach	
thúŋgu			drink	
thúk			poison	
thúkpa			noodle	
tìŋ			last	
tíŋ	chatar		prayer bowls	
tìŋla tìŋla úŋgu			to follow	
tíŋma			ant	
tìkpe			small	? thikpe
tìkpe ŋáp			shrink	
tínba			seventh	
tínju			seventy	
tìpli			kettle	
to kílup	kilnijop		to oppose	
tòŋa			testicles	
tòŋba	khàtuŋ		empty	
tòkye			ideal or perfect	
tòru			defeat	
tòup			to plant	
tsà			blood vessel	

Sherpa	Alternatives	S&S/HT Alternates	English	Notes
tsá			grass	
tsá			salt	
tsàŋ			cradle	also nest
tsàŋ			nest	also cradle
tsáŋbu			river	
tsáʈho			salty	
tsála			near	
tsálu			choke	
tsám			meditation	
tsámpa			staple food	made of flour and water
tsáru			grow	
tsècik			some	
tsémbu			seam	
tsémbu gyáp			to sew	
tséndi			heat	
tséo			strain	
tsép			to play	
tsérmoŋ			edible leaf	
tshà			tea	
tshíkpa			burn	
tsí			count	
tsì			joint	
tsík			word	
tsìkpa		gara	outside wall (stone)	
tsímbu			catch	
tsíriŋ kipa			hat	skin hat with long flap over one ear

Sherpa	Alternatives	S&S/HT Alternates	English	Notes
tsírup			to squeeze	
tsò			how	
tsọ̀			colour	
tsó			water source	
tsòkir			chang making pot	top pot, wide with a lip
tsótoŋgu			to colour	
tsótu			to boil	
tsótu			to cook	
tùŋa			tadpole	
túk			six	
túkba			sixth	
túkchu			sixty	
túmpo			quickly	
túmu			quick	
tùrme	kacha	kaca kwosen	shoe	
ú			breath	
ú ʈhúŋgu			breath to	breath+drink
úŋbu ríŋbu			tall	
úŋgup			to come	
úkla			moon	
ùku			chin	
úkukula			frequently	
úlduk		ʈhák wokpa	owl	
úliʈhak			menstruation	'moon's blood'
úrkyok	úkla		corner	
ùru			aunt	mother's younger sister

Sherpa	Alternatives	S&S/HT Alternates	English	Notes
ùrumoma			step-mother	father's second wife
wòkla			under	
yàk			yak male	
yàmba			next	
yàmbati			another	
yáyo			high place	
yè			rat year	
yégyo			rusty	
yéluŋ	gari		again	
yèmba			other	
yèrapu			civilized	
yígi láu mí			educated/literate	word+learn+person
yígi maláu mí			illiterate	word+not learn+ person
yìu			hide (people)	
yú			lapis	
yúlup			to smear	
yùmba	pilokpa		left hand	
zá		ja	rainbow	
zàma			chang making pot	middle of three for making chang
zèmu			beautiful (people)	
zèndi khírup			to marry	
zéop			to leak	
zéu			basket	
zìnzin			drunk	
zóm			yak female	
zómpkhyuk			yak male	
zóp			establish	

Sherpa	Alternatives	S&S/HT Alternates	English	Notes
zow			barley	
zù			body	
zù ʈútu			bathe	

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